

THE EUROPEAN BOOK IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

The 'Long Twelfth Century' (1075–1225) was an era of seminal importance in the development of the book in medieval Europe and marked a high point in its construction and decoration. This comprehensive study takes the cultural changes that occurred during the 'Twelfth-Century Renaissance' as its point of departure to provide an overview of manuscript culture encompassing the whole of Western Europe. Written by senior scholars, chapters are divided among three sections: the technical aspects of making books; the processes and practices of reading and keeping books; and the transmission of texts in the disciplines that saw significant change in the period, including medicine, law, philosophy, liturgy and theology. Richly illustrated, this volume provides the first in-depth account of book production as a European phenomenon.

ERIK KWAKKEL is Professor at the School of Library, Archival and Information Studies at the University of British Columbia, Vancouver. His research is devoted to the relationship between the physical appearance of manuscripts and the historical context in which they were produced and used. His publications include *Turning Over a New Leaf: Change and Development in the Medieval Book* (2012), co-authored with Rosamond McKitterick and Rodney Thomson; *Manuscript of the Latin Classics 800–1200* (2015); *Writing in Context: Insular Manuscript Culture 500–1200* (2013) and *Author, Reader, Book: Medieval Authorship in Theory and Practice* (2012), co-edited with Stephen Partridge.

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THE EUROPEAN BOOK IN THE TWELFTH CENTURY

EDITED BY

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University of British Columbia, Vancouver

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Dedicated to the memory of
Peter Gumbert
(1936–2016)

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Preface

This book was conceived in the context of ‘Turning Over a New Leaf: Manuscript Innovation in the Twelfth-Century Renaissance’, a research project directed by Erik Kwakkel and established at Leiden University from 2010 to 2015. It fulfils the desire of both editors to make available a synthesizing study devoted to all major subject areas of twelfth-century manuscript culture in the West. In the autumn of 2014 a group of leading scholars was invited to write chapters for this book. The aim was not only to present the current state of research in the various subject areas, but also to highlight the possibilities for new directions in the future. Moreover, the chapters were intended to draw attention, insofar as possible within the limitations of space, to the material features of twelfth-century manuscripts, an emphasis that was the driving force behind the ‘Turning Over a New Leaf’ project. The contributors were subsequently invited to a three-day workshop held in March 2015 at Leiden University, during which each chapter was presented and discussed. The result of this phased production process, in which the authors built upon the input and expertise of their colleagues, is a book that analyzes, for the first time, the full scope of twelfth-century book and text culture in the West.

The editors wish to thank the following people and institutions: the libraries that granted permission for the reproduction of images; the contributors for their enthusiasm and willingness to come to Leiden and critique each other’s work; the Dutch funding agency Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek (NWO), which funded the ‘Turning Over a New Leaf’ project and the workshop in 2015; Leiden University Library for hosting the workshop; and Jenneke Janzen and Julie Somers, who produced a discussion report that proved vital for writing the final version of the chapters. This book is dedicated to the memory of the Leiden codicologist Peter Gumbert (1936–2016), who was a respondent at the workshop and an enthusiastic supporter of the ‘Turning Over a New Leaf’ project.

Abbreviations

<i>AHDLMA</i>	<i>Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge</i>
<i>AL</i>	<i>Aristoteles Latinus: Codices</i> , ed. G. Lacombe, A. Birkenmajer, M. Dulong and E. Franceschini (2 vols., Rome, 1939, 1945), with supplement, ed. L. Minio-Paluello (Bruges/Paris, 1961)
Alexander, <i>Medieval Illuminators</i>	J. J. G. Alexander, <i>Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work</i> (New Haven, CT, 1992)
Alexander, <i>Mont St Michel</i>	J. J. G. Alexander, <i>Norman Illumination at Mont St Michel 966–1100</i> (Oxford, 1970)
<i>ANS</i>	<i>Anglo-Norman Studies</i>
<i>BAV</i>	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
Beach, <i>Manuscripts and Monastic Culture</i>	<i>Manuscripts and Monastic Culture: Reform and Renewal in Twelfth-Century Germany</i> , ed. A. I. Beach (Medieval Church Studies 13: Turnhout, 2007)
Beach, <i>Women as Scribes</i>	A. I. Beach, <i>Women as Scribes: Book Production and Monastic Reform in Twelfth-Century Bavaria</i> (Cambridge, 2004)
Becker, <i>Catalogi</i>	G. Becker, <i>Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui</i> (Bonn, 1885; repr. Hildesheim, 1973)
Benson and Constable, <i>Renaissance</i>	R. L. Benson and G. Constable with C. D. Lanham, <i>The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century</i> (Oxford, 1982)
Bibl. mun.	Bibliothèque municipale

Bischoff, <i>Latin Palaeography</i>	B. Bischoff, <i>Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages</i> , trans. D. Ó Cróinín and D. Ganz (Cambridge, 1990)
BL	London, The British Library
BnF	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France
Bodl. Libr.	Oxford, The Bodleian Library
BSB	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
Bumke, <i>Mäzene</i>	J. Bumke, <i>Mäzene im Mittelalter: die Gönner und Auftraggeber der höfischen Literatur in Deutschland, 1150–1300</i> (Munich, 1979)
Burnett and Jacquart, <i>Constantine</i>	C. Burnett and D. Jacquart (eds.), <i>Constantine the African and ‘Ali ibn al-‘Abbās al-Mağūsī: The ‘Pantegni’ and Related Texts</i> (Leiden, 1994)
Cahn, <i>Romanesque Manuscripts</i>	W. Cahn, <i>Romanesque Manuscripts: The Twelfth Century</i> (a survey of manuscripts illuminated in France: 2 vols., London, 1996)
Cavallo and Chartier, <i>Reading</i>	G. Cavallo and R. Chartier (eds.), <i>A History of Reading in the West</i> (Cambridge/Oxford, 1999)
CBMLC	<i>Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues</i> (The British Library, 1990–)
CCCC	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
Chavannes-Mazel and Smith, <i>Latin Classics</i>	<i>Medieval Manuscripts of the Latin Classics: Production and Use</i> , ed. C. A. Chavannes-Mazel and M. M. Smith (Los Altos Hills, CA, 1996)
CHBB I–II	<i>Cambridge History of the Book in Britain I, c. 400–1100</i> , ed. R. Gameson; <i>II, 1100–1400</i> , ed. N. J. Morgan and R. M. Thomson (Cambridge, 2011, 2008)
CHL	<i>The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, Volume I: to 1640</i> , ed. E. Leedham-Green and T. Webber (Cambridge, 2006)
CIMAGL	<i>Cahiers de l’Institut du moyen-âge grec et latin</i>

- CUL Cambridge University Library
- De Hamel, *Glossed Books* C. de Hamel, *Glossed Books of the Bible and the Origins of the Paris Booktrade* (Woodbridge, 1984)
- Derolez, *Gothic* A. Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books: From the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2003)
- Dodwell, *Canterbury* C. R. Dodwell, *The Canterbury School of Illumination* (Cambridge, 1954)
- Eadwine* M. T. Gibson, T. A. Heslop, R. W. Pfaff (eds.), *The Eadwine Psalter: Text, Image and Monastic Culture in Twelfth-Century Canterbury* (London, 1992)
- Gullick, 'Professional Scribes' M. Gullick, 'Professional Scribes in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century England', *English Manuscript Studies 1100–1700* 7 (1998), 1–24
- Haskins, *Renaissance* C. H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, MA, 1927)
- HBF* *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises, I: Les bibliothèques médiévales du vi^e siècle à 1530*, ed. A. Vernet (Paris, 1989)
- Hunt Essays* *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to R. W. Hunt*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (Oxford, 1976)
- Illich, *Vineyard* I. Illich, *In the Vineyard of the Text: A Commentary to Hugh's Didascalicon* (Chicago, IL, 1993)
- Jeaneau, 'Prologue' E. Jeaneau, 'Le Prologus in Eptateuchon de Thierry de Chartres', *Mediaeval Studies* 14 (1954), 171–5, repr. in his *Lectio philosophorum: Recherches sur l'école de Chartres* (Amsterdam, 1973), 87–91
- JWCI* *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*
- Ker, *BCL* N. R. Ker, *Books, Collectors and Libraries: Studies in the Medieval Heritage*, ed. A. G. Watson (London and Ronceverte, 1985)

Ker, <i>English MSS</i>	N. R. Ker, <i>English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest</i> (Oxford, 1960)
<i>Ker Essays</i>	<i>Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays Presented to N. R. Ker</i> , ed. M. B. Parkes and A. G. Watson (London, 1978)
Kwakkel, <i>Latin Classics</i>	E. Kwakkel (ed.), <i>Manuscripts of the Latin Classics</i> (Leiden, 2015)
<i>Liber Eliensis</i>	<i>Liber Eliensis</i> , ed. E. O. Blake (RHS Camden 3rd ser. 92, 1962)
<i>MBKDS</i>	<i>Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz</i> , ed. P. Lehmann et al. (4 vols., Munich, 1918–79)
<i>Medieval Book Production</i>	<i>Medieval Book Production: Assessing the Evidence</i> , ed. L. L. Brownrigg (Los Altos Hills, CA, 1990)
MGH	Monumenta Germanica Historica
srg	scriptores rerum germanicarum
Scriptores	Scriptores in usum scholarum
<i>MJ</i>	<i>Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch</i>
<i>MMBL</i>	N. R. Ker, <i>Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries</i> (5 vols., Oxford, 1969–2002)
Munk Olsen, <i>Auteurs classiques</i>	B. Munk Olsen, <i>L'étude des auteurs classiques latins aux XI^e et XII^e siècles</i> (4 vols., Paris, 1982–2014)
Mynors, <i>Cassiodorus</i>	Cassiodorus, <i>Institutiones</i> , ed. R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1937)
Mynors, <i>Durham</i>	R. A. B. Mynors, <i>Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the End of the Twelfth Century</i> (Oxford, 1939)
Mynors and Thomson, <i>Hereford</i>	R. A. B. Mynors and R. M. Thomson, <i>Catalogue of the Manuscripts in Hereford Cathedral Library</i> (Cambridge, 1993)
ÖNB	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
Orderic	Orderic Vitalis, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> , ed. and trans. M. Chibnall (6 vols., Oxford, 1969–80)
Parkes, <i>Pause and Effect</i>	M. B. Parkes, <i>Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the History of Punctuation in the West</i> (Aldershot, 1992)

PL	Patrologia Latina
RB	<i>Revue Bénédictine</i>
Reynolds, <i>Texts and Transmission</i>	<i>Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics</i> , ed. L. G. Reynolds (Oxford, 1984)
RHS	Royal Historical Society
Riedmayer, <i>Lambeth Bibel</i>	J. Riedmayer, <i>Die 'Lambeth Bibel': Struktur und Bildaussage einer englischen Bibelhandschrift des 12. Jahrhunderts</i> (Frankfurt, 1994)
Rouse and Rouse, <i>Authentic Witnesses</i>	R. H. Rouse and M. A. Rouse, <i>Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts</i> (Notre Dame, IN, 1991)
RS	Rolls Series
RTAM	<i>Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale</i>
Shepard, <i>Lambeth</i>	D. M. Shepard, <i>Introducing the Lambeth Bible: A Study of Texts and Imagery</i> (Turnhout, 2007)
Thomson, <i>Bury Bible</i>	R. M. Thomson, <i>The Bury Bible</i> (Woodbridge and Tokyo, 2001)
Thomson, <i>St Albans</i>	R. M. Thomson, <i>Manuscripts from Saint Albans Abbey 1066–1235</i> (2nd edn., 2 vols., Woodbridge, 1985)
Thomson, <i>Worcester</i>	R. M. Thomson, <i>A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library</i> (Cambridge, 2001)
<i>Turning over a New Leaf</i>	E. Kwakkel, R. McKitterick and R. M. Thomson, <i>Turning Over a New Leaf: Change and Development in the Medieval Book</i> (Leiden, 2012)
<i>The World of John of Salisbury</i>	<i>The World of John of Salisbury</i> , ed. M. Wilks (Oxford, 1984)

Introduction

Erik Kwakkel and Rodney Thomson

With its roots in the fourth century CE, the medieval codex is an old soul which pushed its established competitors, the papyrus book and parchment scroll, into the margins of history with surprising speed and ease.¹ Christian culture in late antiquity needed a medium that could both hold longer texts and help readers access them more easily than was possible with the scroll.² The success of the codex reflects its ability to meet this requirement. However, the first surviving codices from the Latin West looked very different from manuscripts made in the later Middle Ages. The physical format of manuscripts developed significantly throughout the medieval period, because new physical traits, production methods and scribal practices were introduced, either to improve established practices or for no apparent reason at all. The number and speed of such developments, it appears, increased during periods of cultural and intellectual change; for example, Carolingian rulers presented educated society with a new script, the product of deliberate design rather than spontaneous evolution.³ When culture shifts, arguably the practices of reading and writing do as well.

Bearing in mind this potential relationship between general cultural change and transformations in written culture, the present collection of essays focuses on the production and use of manuscripts in the Long Twelfth Century – that is, the period stretching from the late eleventh through the early thirteenth century – taking the cultural changes that occurred during the so-called Twelfth-Century Renaissance as its point of departure.⁴ This period is significant for manuscript culture, which saw a substantial increase in the production of books as well as the appearance of important new physical features. This ‘Renaissance’ also gathers under one umbrella a number of important and interrelated historical events, such as monastic reform, the establishment of universities, the birth of scholasticism, a revival of jurisprudence and the introduction of Greek and Arabic science and philosophy. The ‘Awakening of Western Europe’, to

use David Knowles' term,⁵ was characterized by a boost in energy and optimism within educated society, whose members sensed that they were living in a time different from the immediate past and who contemplated, often explicitly, their role in the course of history and the new – or at least changing – present.⁶

The term 'renaissance of letters' is sometimes used to emphasize that this cultural movement was primarily driven by intellectuals: scholars who read and wrote texts with renewed passion and interest.⁷ First there were those in northern France, England and northern Italy, followed by kindred spirits in southern Italy (the Kingdom of Sicily), the Germanic lands, the Low Countries and Christian Spain. These intellectuals – who lacked cohesion beyond a shared background (a 'career', perhaps) in higher education, a deep yearning for knowledge and the sense that classical ideas ought to be revived in their lifetime – exchanged ideas through texts and letters which were disseminated through the main intellectual centres of medieval Europe: monasteries, cathedral schools and proto-universities. Here the new voices, presenting new ideas in Latin, the language of eloquence in the West, were read and heard, contradicted and expanded upon, by a broad range of intellectuals from St Bernard of Clairvaux and William of Malmesbury to Peter Abelard and John of Salisbury.

The Long Twelfth Century was a seminal period for the development of the handmade book in medieval Europe: not only did production increase dramatically but it was also a high point in material terms such as construction and legible writing, as well as in decoration, usually modest though sometimes of great splendour and elegance. What Neil Ker said of English books of the period can be generalized (with appropriate nuances) to Europe as a whole:

The period is the greatest in the history of English book production. Manuscripts were perhaps better written in the eighth century and in the tenth, but they are not numerous. It is no exaggeration to say that a well-written English twelfth-century manuscript is something we have a good chance of being able to see in many of our towns. [...] In London, Oxford, and Cambridge there are hundreds of them. They are the considerable remains of the large number of books produced by the scribes of this period; accurately copied, competently and often beautifully written and decorated, well spaced, fully punctuated, and neatly corrected.⁸

The fundamental texts of both polytheist and Christian antiquity were disseminated more widely than before, and some indeed were revived for the first time since the fall of the Roman Empire. Scribes now took greater care with word separation, punctuation and the articulation of texts. Books

catered to new readerships: new styles of monasticism, those with means but 'illiterate' (i.e. not literate in Latin) and the populations of the fluid educational communities termed collectively 'schools' by contemporaries. Different styles of formatting were developed for the different disciplines of law, theology and biblical studies. Each of these developments has received considerable scholarly attention, but they have not been integrated into a 'big picture' overview.

Providing such an overview, encompassing the whole of Western Europe and based upon expert analysis of each subject area, is the aim of this book. Certain elements of the manuscripts from the Long Twelfth Century have already received scholarly attention, such as script, decoration, binding and the glossing they frequently contain.⁹ Furthermore, the contexts of production and use have been illuminated for some individual copies,¹⁰ regional centres¹¹ or monastic houses.¹² However, the manuscript as a whole and as a developing European book format has not yet received significant attention, nor has the historical backdrop of its creation as a pan-European intellectual movement.

The present volume, then, investigates how readers in the twelfth century interacted with books and texts. It aims to show how a changing literary taste, a shift in the use of texts and a new outlook on the world among intellectuals affected the practices of book production and reading in varying degrees. In an age defined by the introduction of an unusually high number of new authors (both foreign and home-grown), texts (original Latin works and translations) and genres (natural philosophy, encyclopaedias), as well as a new approach to reading and evaluating the written word – through, for example, the scholastic method – it became important for readers to own manuscripts that presented texts in formats different from those they inherited from the Carolingians and their successors. By gauging the physical features of manuscripts and their dispersal, the chapters in this book assess, for example, what features were developed for manuscripts holding different text genres, what the manuscripts of these genres tell us about how the texts were used and how the different genres 'sit' in the book culture of the period. How did their numbers increase or their physical aspects evolve over the course of the century? To address these and other textual and 'bookish' questions, the essays in this volume are presented in three sections.

The first section, Book Production, is devoted to the production of manuscripts. The four chapters in this section discuss how twelfth-century manuscripts were produced and who was involved in their production. The focus is on the objects' main material aspects, from the execution of

script (Chapter 1) and the physical construction (Chapter 2), to techniques of decoration (Chapter 3). These chapters attempt to emphasize how the twelfth-century book reflected the shifting interests of readers: they show how the objects were, to a large extent, customized for use in a new age, while maintaining certain features inherited from earlier centuries. The final discussion in this first section (Chapter 4) focuses on the individuals or teams who made these manuscripts that survive in their thousands, as well as the locations in which they produced, stored and used their books: shelved cupboards (*armaria*) in the monastery, perhaps even a 'scriptorium' that was a physical entity.

The second section, Readers and Their Books, assesses the ways in which readers interacted with texts and the physical books that contained them. The essays in this segment focus on the owners of manuscripts, both individual scholars (Chapter 5) and institutions, most importantly monasteries (Chapter 6). Other chapters in this section deal with the consumption of texts, highlighting new modes of reading (Chapter 7) and new practices in annotating books (Chapter 8). These chapters show how different groups of readers practised different ways of reading and interacting with texts (monks, scholars and students), while also highlighting the networks through which texts were disseminated and how the texts were made available to readers, for example in libraries.

The main thread running through the third section, Types of Books, is the contents of manuscripts produced in the Long Twelfth Century. After an assessment of Hebrew manuscripts in the West (Chapter 9), the focus shifts to the seven main text genres that were popular in the period: Liturgy (Chapter 10), Theology (Chapter 11), Philosophy (Chapter 12), the Classics (Chapter 13), the Sciences (Chapter 14), Medicine (Chapter 15) and Law (Chapter 16). The final two chapters deal with a new genre of texts, those written in or translated into the vernacular languages of England and France (Chapter 17), and Germany (Chapter 18). The chapters in this third section enquire how these genres advanced in the century and a half between 1075 and 1225, how manuscripts accommodated genre-specific elements such as diagrams, glosses, complex thoughts or debates, or how information not previously available in Europe (such as that found in scientific texts) was presented to the reader. Ultimately, the authors aim to place the contents of manuscripts within their historical context alongside evidence of use and observations related to the book as a physical object.

We might have included a chapter on the legacy of the twelfth century. Some of the types of book mentioned earlier in this introduction, and some of the characteristics of their construction, formatting and decoration

continued to appear through later centuries, and indeed still influence book culture today. Other features died quickly. In the course of the thirteenth century Benedictine monasteries largely ceased to produce their own books, and the grand monastic books that characterize the first half of the twelfth century gave way to products of commercial workshops and extra-monastic milieus such as university towns. Speed and expense were now significant factors influencing book production, aimed at new readers such as students and friars. Splendid luxury books continued to be made in small numbers up until the era of print. Some specific types of book disappeared altogether: glossed books of the Bible, produced in great numbers throughout the second half of the twelfth century, were no longer made after the late thirteenth century.¹³

Some of this process may be reasonably described as ‘decline’ or at least as deliberate change, whether due to fashion (especially as applied to decoration) or economic factors. But the legacy of the twelfth century is greater than that appears at first sight – and this is often forgotten – simply because of the lasting qualities of the books made then. Glossed books ceased to be made because the existing stock was sufficient and would remain usable over the centuries.¹⁴ When Europe revived again in the wake of the Black Death, and another ‘renaissance’ fostered renewed interest in the classics and the Fathers, twelfth-century volumes were reread. The marginal annotation and ownership inscriptions of fifteenth-century humanists demonstrate this to have been so. An inadvertent compliment was paid to the earlier age through the development of ‘humanist’ script and decoration, which was influenced by exemplars in twelfth-century script.¹⁵ When printers started to use roman type, which was developed from this humanist script, the artisans gave, indirectly, new life to the venerated Pregothisc script. This renewed, now mechanized script appeared on pages that already featured other traits developed during the Long Twelfth Century, such as running titles bearing the name of the text, foliation and the relative proportions of the page itself. In many ways the legacy of the handmade books studied in this volume endures in printed books today.

Notes

1. Hall 2004; Roberts and Skeat 1983.
2. Searching through pages of a physical book is still today easier than ‘scrolling’ through an electronic text.
3. Ganz 1995.

4. Benson and Constable, *Renaissance*; Haskins, *Renaissance*; Swanson 1999.
5. Knowles 1962, 79.
6. Abulafia 2006; Jaeger 1994.
7. Damian-Grint 1999; Luscombe 2004; Verger 1999.
8. Ker, *English MSS*, 1.
9. For example, Derolez, *Gothic*; Cahn, *Romanesque MSS*; Sheppard 1995; De Hamel, *Glossed Books*, respectively.
10. For example, Donovan 1993; *Eadwine*; Gullick 1990.
11. For example, Kauffmann 1975; Ker, *English MSS*; Thomson 1998, 2006.
12. For example, Palmer 1998; Thomson, *St Albans*.
13. De Hamel, *Glossed Books*, p. xiii; more nuanced, L. Smith, *The Glossa Ordinaria* (Leiden/Boston, 2009), 181–7.
14. The most convenient evidence for this is the editions of many late medieval booklists in *CBMLC*, which include identifications of surviving books.
15. Ullman, for example, argues that late fourteenth-century humanists preferred manuscripts written in large twelfth-century script, especially Italian: Ullman 1960, 12, 14 n. 10.

PART I

Book Production

CHAPTER I

Codicology

Erik Kwakkel and Rodney Thomson

Parchment

The pages of all books made in Western Europe between the eighth and early thirteenth centuries were made of ‘membrane’, that is, animal skin prepared in a particular way, to produce what is commonly known today as parchment or vellum.¹ Paper made from rags was used in Muslim Spain² and its existence was known to Western Europeans, who despised it as an inferior material; this probably explains why it was not made or widely used there before the late thirteenth century. In his polemic against the Jews, completed in or after 1143, Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, asked:

God, you say, reads the book of Talmud in Heaven. But what kind of a book? Is it the kind we have in daily use, made from the skins of rams, goats, or calves? Or from reeds and rushes out of eastern swamps, or from old rags, or from some other even more vile material?³

Peter had strong connections with Spain, with Toledo in particular, and his reference to papyrus may be to contemporary usage, as his mention of rags certainly is. Paper, then, is not part of our story, except as exemplifying the need for cheaper books that increased throughout the next centuries as a result of the expansion of the universities and growth in lay readership. The earliest surviving document from Western Europe made of paper is dated 1216–22; the earliest datable paper books come from the late thirteenth century.⁴

Peter’s reference to the types of skin used for book-making in the Europe of his time is interesting; it is no surprise to find sheep and calf mentioned, and goat is also known to have been used, though to an extent that has never been quantified. In fact the treatment of skins to produce high-grade parchment obliterates most traces of the species of animal from which it came.⁵ Goatskin can sometimes be distinguished by its tawny colour and prominent hair follicles, and the evidence of the surviving books is that it

was more commonly used in Italy than elsewhere. What we know nothing of is how the flocks and herds were managed to enable the manufacture of so many books so quickly. Clearly there must have been a connection between the provision of skins and of meat, with meat having the priority. It would seem to follow that the skins of nearly all animals slaughtered for their meat must have been used to make books. Meat was needed on a regular basis for consumption by high-status laypersons; it was not consumed by the religious or the peasantry. Parchment, on the other hand, was needed, mainly by religious communities, in batches big enough to make at least one whole book in a single operation.⁶ A new or reformed monastic house might stock its library with, say, 150 volumes over a period of thirty years. Assuming an average of about as many leaves as this per volume, this project might need about 5,500 skins, involving the slaughter of about 183 animals a year.

The elaborate process by which skin was made into parchment suitable for writing on has been described many times, recently with excellent photographs and line-drawings, and so need not be repeated here.⁷ What is less well recognized is the generally high quality of twelfth-century parchment, especially that employed to make monastic books. It is off-white but not yellow, comparatively thick, each side slightly furry, holds the ink well, supple yet provides a flat writing-surface, not easy to crease. By contrast the parchment of books from the late thirteenth until the late fourteenth century is often yellow or even brownish, thin, smooth but easily creased or crinkled. The fifteenth century saw a return to twelfth-century quality. One imagines that the decline in quality was due to the omission of some of the stages of the production process, for reasons of expense. The background to the making of this excellent parchment probably lies back in the eighth century and in the British Isles.⁸

Clients wishing to produce a grand book might conduct a search for the best-quality, blemish-free parchment, which was not necessarily available locally. A famous case is the Bury Bible (Figure 3.3), made at and for Bury-St Edmunds Abbey ca. 1130, for which the parchment was sought 'in partibus Scotie', which by the thirteenth century (when this fact was recorded) ought to mean Scotland rather than Ireland.⁹ The difference matters little: as Brown pointed out, the significance of the monks' quest is that the Celtic areas of the British Isles were known to be places where the ancient techniques for making high-quality parchment were still intact. In the Bury Bible, and in other grand books, high-quality parchment was pasted onto the existing pages to take decoration in saturated colours that

would otherwise show through as unsightly dark blotches on the other side of the leaf.¹⁰

The process of turning skin into parchment was a highly skilled one: what sort of people did it? The famous full-page miniature in Bamberg, Staatsbibl., Patr. 5, f. iv, suggests that it might sometimes have been done by the members of a monastic community. The miniature is bordered by a series of roundels showing the process of book-making from preparation of the parchment on, all the persons engaged being tonsured and in monastic robes. But there is far more evidence for the existence of commercial parchmenters and for their supplying religious houses in their area with skins at various stages of preparation. The English evidence, which is particularly abundant, can probably stand for all. Here follows a sample with no pretensions to completeness. In north Lincolnshire ca. 1170 'Gilebertus perkamenarius' witnessed a grant of property to the Premonstratensian abbey of Newhouse.¹¹ The Pipe Roll for 1176–7 records a substantial debt to the Exchequer of one mark owed by 'Gille parcheminarius', probably from Shrewsbury.¹² Late in the century a customary note in the Register of Winchcombe Abbey states that 'When the parchmenters . . . come to the [monks'] parlour with their parchment on the first day of Advent, they should receive the *caritas* of the house, namely bread and beer from the abbot's cellar, at the hand of the gatekeeper.'¹³ This is particularly illuminating: it tells us that even a small town such as Winchcombe could be home to more than one parchmenter, and that they regularly came to the abbey parlour (where the monks were permitted conversation) to sell their wares. About 1205 'Hernaldus parchiminarius' figures as a tenant of Worcester Cathedral Priory.¹⁴ A document of the early thirteenth century from Hereford Cathedral was witnessed by a Theobald 'parcamenarius'.¹⁵ In the city of Lincoln ca. 1157 there was even a 'uicus pargamenariorum',¹⁶ suggestive of something like a local industry. Documentary evidence indicates that the parchmenter could deliver the parchment in untrimmed sheets, usually by the dozen, or else trimmed and folded. Pricking and ruling were part of the next stage of preparation, executed by the scribe, but first he had to decide what dimensions he would give the book.

Dimensions

Significant changes observed in other domains of twelfth-century book production, for example in script and decoration,¹⁷ prompt the question of whether page dimensions likewise show developments over time. Dated

and datable manuscripts provide some insights in this respect: from the period between 1075 and 1224, 353 surviving manuscripts can be drafted into service (Figure 1.1).¹⁸ To create categories that are represented by a fair number of manuscripts, the spectrum is broken up into segments that increase with ten-centimetre increments. The discussion is limited, for now, to the height of the page, considering that the width usually follows automatically from it: quantitative studies show that after the tenth century the width of the page equals 70 per cent of its height.¹⁹ This, of course, is in part dictated by the shape of the skin.

Figure 1.1 shows, first of all, that there is limited change over time. It is striking, for example, that at no point does one line of development overtake another: their relative order remains the same. Moreover, none of the developments shows a sharp upward or downward turn. Only manuscripts with a height of between 151 mm and 200 mm are ultimately represented in somewhat different numbers: 38 per cent in 1200–24 compared to 23 per cent in 1075–99 – an increase. In addition, Figure 1.1 suggests that very large manuscripts of more than 450 mm in page height may have somewhat decreased in popularity: from 12 per cent in the late eleventh century to 2 per cent in the early thirteenth. This decrease may be

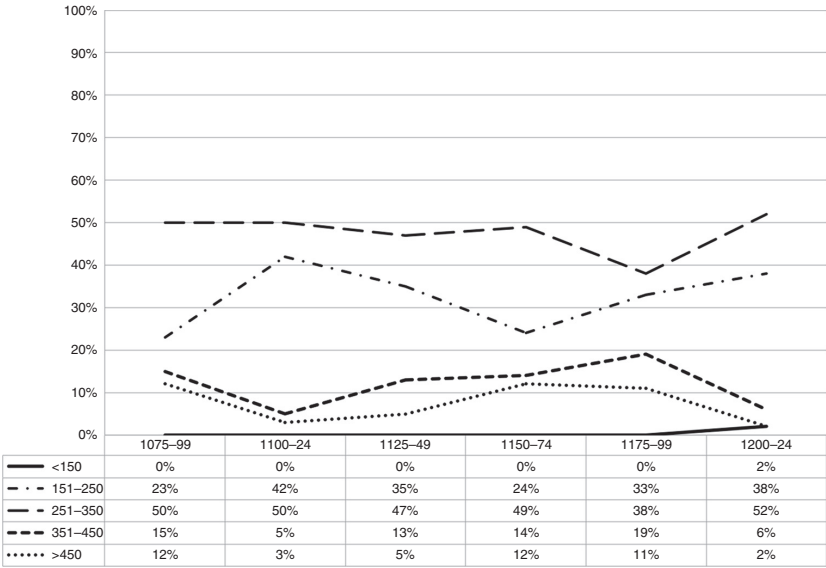


Figure 1.1 Page heights of 353 dated and datable manuscripts, 1075–1224.

the result of the fact that outsize manuscripts (such as gospel books and bibles) had a longer working life and may not have often needed recopying. Most manuscripts in the sample can be placed in the categories 151–250 mm and 251–350 mm. The latter is the most popular size range throughout the period: it consistently represents around 50 per cent of the corpus, except for a small dip in the late twelfth century.

The smallest manuscripts are a mixed bag. Specimens up to 160 mm in height (an arbitrary break-off point) include a breviary for Cistercian use (Bodl. Libr. Lat. liturg. f. 1, 1219, 128 mm), a calendar (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 24, 1204, 153 mm), a poem in praise of the city of Chester (Bodl. Libr. Bodley 672, 1194, 154 mm), Bernardus Silvestris' *Cosmographia* (BnF lat. 2770, 1198–1205, 155 mm), a New Testament (Cambridge, St John's Coll. G. 15 [183], 1167–83, 158 mm) and Cassiodorus' *Epistolae* (Cambridge, Trinity Coll. O. 7. 13 [1341], 1167–83, 159 mm). In spite of the limited size of these codices, scribes wrote a relatively large number of lines on their pages. To do so, they opted for a notably small script size: the line height of the script is, in increasing order: 3.3 mm (Fitzwilliam 24), 3.6 mm (Trinity O. 7. 13), 3.8 mm (St John's Coll. G. 15 as well as Bodl. Libr. Lat. liturg. f. 1), 4.3 mm (BnF lat. 2770) and 4.7 mm (Bodl. 672).²⁰ Considering that scribes aimed to maximize the amount of information contained in these small books, it is fair to conclude that they were probably designed for portability.

At the high end of the spectrum we encounter very different manuscripts. The tallest category of books, those of 450 mm or taller, encompasses a high number of bibles (twelve of the twenty-eight manuscripts in this category), including many so-called Giant Bibles: the Stavelot Bible (BL Add. 28106 and 28107, 1094–7, 575 mm) being the largest manuscript in the corpus, the Arnstein Bible (BL Harley 2798 and 2799, 1172, 545 mm), the Worms Bible (BL Harl. 2803 and 2804, 527 mm), the Bury Bible (CCCC 2, 1121–38, 520 mm) and the Floreffe Bible (BL Add. 17737 and 17738, ca. 1155, 475 mm).²¹ Other manuscripts in this category are commentaries, such as on the Epistles of St Paul (BnF lat. 11575 and 11576, 1164, 477 mm), Lombard on the Psalms (Bodl. Libr. Auct. E. inf. 6, 1173–6, 467 mm) and Jerome on the Minor Prophets (BnF lat. 1835, ca. 1202, 455 mm). There are also two manuscripts of canon law more than 450 mm high: BnF lat. 3853 (ca. 1154, 510 mm) and BnF lat. 14314 (ca. 1152, 490 mm). The largest manuscripts in our corpus were written in much larger script: the line height varies between 7 mm and 10 mm, which is often twice the height as in the small manuscripts discussed before.

A comparison of the dimensions of these books with the kind of works they contain reveals significant differences between text genres. In descending order of their height, the averages for the major genres are as follows:²²

Biblical (31 mss):	395 mm
Commentaries (32 mss):	345 mm
Patristic (32 mss):	305 mm
Historical (89 mss):	289 mm
Theology (15 mss):	279 mm
Liturgical/Devotional (77 mss):	275 mm
Administrative (17 mss):	272 mm
Hagiography (19 mss):	268 mm

While these numbers are merely averages, they do hint at a correlation between a manuscript's dimensions and the text it holds. As expected, bibles and commentaries (including Glossed Bibles) top the list, as was already suggested by the examples provided earlier in this chapter. In contrast, genres that were generally written in manuscripts of smaller dimensions appear to be administrative in nature (cartularies, in many cases) or hagiographical (mostly Lives of individual saints, and some passionals), closely followed by liturgical and devotional books, and those filled with theological works.

The rationale behind the chosen height for a manuscript is probably related, at least in large part, to the use for which the object was intended. For example, Giant Bibles, a major component of the 'tallest' text genre, were commonly used for reading out loud in a monastery's refectory. The large size minimized the frequency with which pages needed to be turned, while it also accommodated large script. A fair share of liturgical and devotional manuscripts was made for handheld use, such as breviaries, missals and psalters, which may explain their modest size. The same rationale – handheld use – lies at the heart of a type of manuscript that breaks with the common norm of relative dimensions (which stipulates that the width of the page is about 70 per cent of its height, as discussed). The corpus contains a number of 'holster books', which feature a particularly tall page with a width that equals 60 per cent or less of the page's height. This narrow format was helpful for a reader who held up the book to read or sing from. It was thus favoured by teachers in the monastic classroom (a striking number of classical manuscripts from the eleventh and twelfth centuries are in holster format) and soloists in the Mass. Notably, nearly all tropers and cantatoria made before ca. 1200 are in holster format.²³

Layout

Layout encompasses a variety of codicological features, such as columns (their number and width, and how many lines they contain); the use of headings, paragraphs, running titles and other aids to the reader; the size of the margins; and the inclusion of interlinear and marginal glosses. While the application of these and other design features varied greatly, the majority of twelfth-century manuscripts do not have a particularly complicated layout. Certain locations in the book, however, demanded special attention. *Capitula* lists were often written in a smaller version of the script, or even in a different script entirely (usually Pregothic cursive), which impacted the line spacing and sometimes also pricking and ruling patterns.²⁴ Moreover, in single-column manuscripts the *capitula* lists may be presented in two columns, perhaps as a consequence of the smaller script that was used, which also demanded special attention during page design. Similarly, liturgical manuscripts included not only different script sizes but also musical notation: this, too, complicated page design, especially if the music was presented on regular text pages. The insertion of decoration and illustrations, finally, also presented reasons for pause. Larger initials were not yet placed in generic square- or rectangular-shaped spaces, as in the thirteenth century; instead the letters were ‘pushed’ into the textblock, as it were. The scribe had to be mindful of their shape when he copied the text (writing preceded decoration): he had to leave both the correct amount and the right shape of empty space.²⁵

Two important considerations for the ultimate design of the page were the contents of the manuscript and how it would be used. The impact of these is shown by twelfth-century commentaries, in particular the *Glossa ordinaria*, a key text of the period, which was principally compiled by Anselm of Laon (d. 1117) with the help of his brother Ralph.²⁶ The *Gloss* is encountered in two characteristic layouts.²⁷ The oldest was ‘simple’ in that it presented a central text column with a fixed width. The commentary was placed around the text in large margins: usually one column on each side. The main text and the marginal commentary form a single entity that takes up much of the page, leaving little room for additional notes. Ruling in the commentary columns was only executed when glosses were added (termed ‘ruling on demand’ by Peter Gumbert). A more refined design appeared in the 1160s in Paris. It presented greater flexibility – and new design challenges. The most distinct development is the variable width of the text column, which now depended on the amount of commentary. Generally the page still presented three columns – centre column for text, two

flanking columns for commentary – but this division could be adjusted: text or commentary could switch to a presentation in two columns, if need be, even on the same page. While more challenging to execute, also considering that text and gloss were pricked and ruled independently,²⁸ the new presentation saved space.

Another correlation between text and page design is encountered in classical texts copied for classroom use. Throughout the Long Twelfth Century such copies were frequently presented in holster format.²⁹ Holster books with classical texts, which are nearly always copied in a single column, were commonly used handheld during the teaching of grammar, rhetoric and dialectic. The scribe, usually the teacher himself, planned plenty of empty space on the page, which was then filled with notes, short explanations or synonyms.³⁰ A peculiar design feature of these manuscripts is that the text column is usually not placed in a central position on the page, which would have allowed readers to add notes on *both* sides of the text – as in *Glossa ordinaria* manuscripts. Although there are exceptions, the single text column is commonly positioned close to the inner margin, so that the extra space planned for annotations all ended up on the outer side of the page (the right side on a recto).

There were also external factors at play with respect to page design. The reader probably had a voice in the ultimate choice of codicological features, including those pertaining to page layout. Near the end of the twelfth century, an increasing number of manuscripts was produced commercially.³¹ Like their peers in monastic houses, commercial scribes knew how to shape the page when copying a certain text, but patrons may still have steered the design as well.³² The milieu of the scribe, lastly, may also have been a factor of influence. Scribes who were members of religious houses produced books according to common practices in their order, for example with respect to abbreviations and decoration, as seen in the Cistercian Order.³³ It is not unlikely that page layout was also governed by order-specific practices, although such research remains yet to be undertaken.

Then there is, finally, the matter of change and development, which has emerged at several occasions in this chapter. As discussed, a shift to a more flexible layout is observed in the *Glossa ordinaria*. Moreover, over the course of the twelfth century the margins of manuscripts began to include elements that changed the presentation of the text, such as running titles displaying the full title, marginal enumerations that reflected the structure of the argument and the alternation of blue and red paragraphs, which all helped the reader. It is hard to pin down when these new features of layout

emerged, even with dated manuscripts, but they appear to be standard by the early thirteenth century.³⁴ However, core codicological features in page design, such as the size of the margins and the number of text columns, remained remarkably stable throughout the period. Observing the first of these (again through the lens of dated and datable manuscripts), an almost even balance is seen in the number of columns on the page: at the end of the century the numbers are not so very different than at the outset (Figure 1.2).³⁵ Taking the numbers at face value would suggest that a single-column layout remained in favour throughout the period.³⁶

Similarly, dated and datable manuscripts suggest that the ratio of text to marginal space did not evolve much either. Throughout the century and a half between 1075 and 1224 the marginal space hovered between 47 per cent and 50 per cent and shows no consistent increase or decrease.³⁷

The margins did change in one respect: they started to accommodate glosses in a more efficient manner. When producing manuscripts that were anticipated to take on a considerable number of annotations during use, scribes placed extra horizontal and vertical ruling in the blank space surrounding the main text columns. A grid of square and rectangular ‘comment boxes’ thus appeared, as many as thirty or more on a single

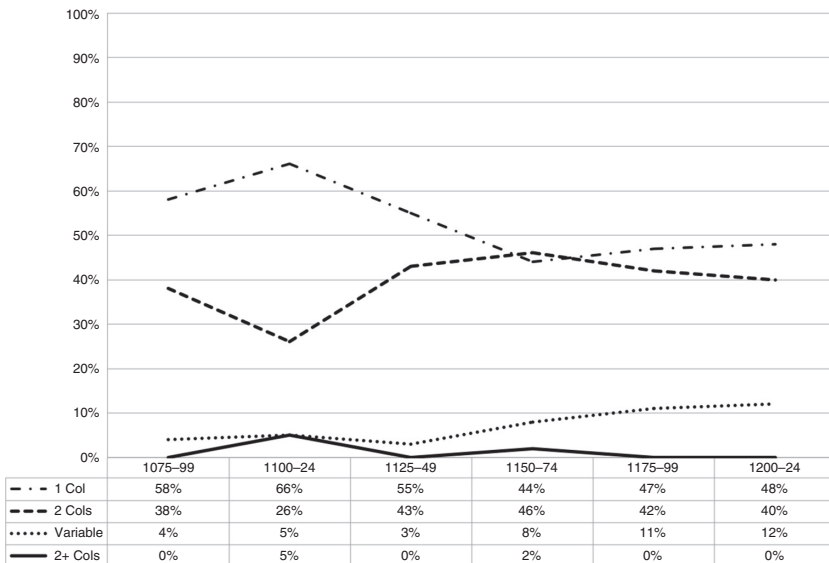


Figure 1.2 Number of columns in 353 dated and datable manuscripts, 1075–1224.

page, which helped the user deal in an efficient manner with annotations. Because the grid consisted of three to five or more vertical glossing 'columns', clearly outlined in plummet, the reader was also given the chance to annotate the same line multiple times while positioning all remarks at the precise height of the line they pertain to. This system appeared on the grid late in the second half of the twelfth century and was finally fully embraced in the thirteenth-century university.³⁸

Binding

The last stage in the process of making a book was binding. This did not necessarily happen immediately; a book might be kept in quires tacketed together with or without a limp wrapper for a long time.³⁹ Some books never passed beyond this stage.⁴⁰ Nonetheless most books *were* bound, especially in cathedrals and monasteries, and the so-called romanesque bindings are distinctive.

It is only recently that a small group of scholars has realized, and begun to publicize, the fact that in the twelfth century European bookbinding reached a pinnacle of excellence which it would arguably never reach again.⁴¹ That this perception has been long in coming is due primarily to the small number of surviving medieval bindings, aggravated by further destruction even in relatively recent times. It is probably also due to the fact that modern binding scholarship has concentrated on the more beautiful and elaborate items, eschewing the majority of medieval bindings, which were plain and utilitarian. Until very recently, descriptive catalogues of medieval manuscripts paid scant attention to their bindings and, if they described them at all, did so perfunctorily. For instance, M. R. James regularly described surviving medieval bindings in something like the following terms: 'Old binding, (sheep/white) skin over wooden boards, clasps gone.'⁴² He never attempted to date these bindings. Such a negative impression did his perfunctory descriptions make that librarians often had the books so described rebound soon after the publication of James' catalogues.

The standard twelfth-century binding was of tawed skin over wooden boards (Figure 1.3). The skin was applied as a single sheet, pasted to the exterior of the boards, but not to the spine, folded round the edge of the boards to form 'turn-ins' which were also pasted, and sometimes mitred and sewn. At each end of the spine the sheet was sometimes extended out in a semicircle, into which was sewn a lining also of skin, the other end of which was sewn into the spinefolds of the quires. The purpose of these

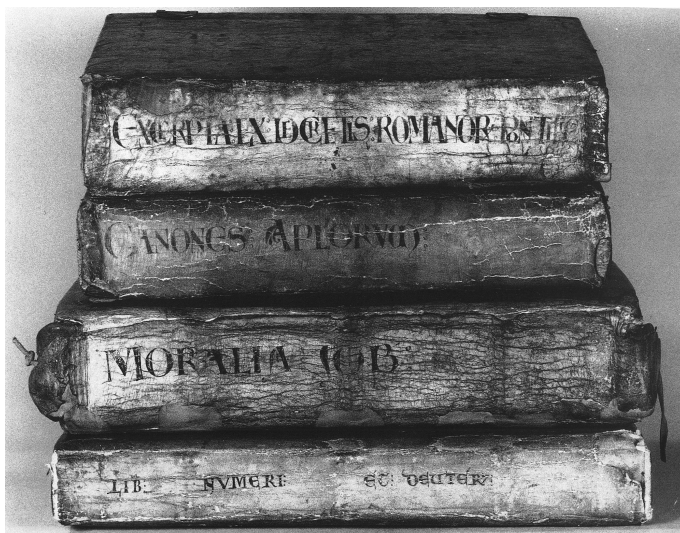


Figure 1.3 A representative group of twelfth-century bindings from Hereford Cathedral (Mynors and Thomson, *Hereford*, pl. 21).

so-called tabs is not altogether clear. It has been suggested that they were used to pull out a book stored in a chest fore-edge-down, but this is guesswork, unprovable in the absence of any illustrations or other physical evidence of such a process. The ‘tabs’ were often shorn off at a later date, when books were stored on desk-lecterns or, later still, upright in presses. The boards were thicker than was usual in earlier times, of quarter-sewn oak in England and sometimes on the Continent, though beech was more usual in Germany. An important innovation, the sewing frame, seems to have first been devised early in the century. It is illustrated in one of the roundels of the famous miniature in Bamberg, Staatsbibl. Patr. 5, f. iv, of ca. 1150. These roundels suggest that, as in the case of the parchment, binding was done in-house, and this impression is reinforced by documentary evidence such as the *Liber ordinis* of St-Victor, which makes binding of books one of the precentor’s responsibilities.⁴³ It was certainly the case that binding was carried out in the precentory at Worcester Cathedral Priory, though the documentary evidence is no earlier than the fourteenth century.⁴⁴

Few complete bindings have survived from before ca. 1100; the earliest is on the famous St Cuthbert (Stonyhurst) Gospels (BL Add. 89000), made

at Wearmouth-Jarrow in the early eighth century,⁴⁵ followed by a large group of Carolingian bindings from the ninth century.⁴⁶ A very few bindings that might be pre-Conquest survive on English books.⁴⁷

So far this section has described and discussed what seem to have been the most common forms of twelfth-century binding. But there were other types, rare now but perhaps more common than we think: limp bindings or wrappers, blind-stamped and treasure bindings.⁴⁸

The quires of a finished book intended to be used but not given a stiff-board binding immediately had to be kept together somehow. This could be achieved, even for books with no binding at all, by means of quire-tacketing⁴⁹ or the application of a limp wrapper. Tacketing was achieved by piercing slits or holes, singly or in pairs, through the spinefold of each quire, near the head and foot. Through these 'stations' was passed a length of thread or thin strip of twisted parchment. These 'tackets' were knotted or twisted together on the spinefold exterior. The purpose of the procedure was to keep together the leaves of an individual quire, not to join the quires to each other. Durham Cath. A. IV. 34 is a famous example of a twelfth-century book that has never been bound, with the remains of tackets still in place.

Limp bindings, in occasional use since at least the eighth century and well beyond the twelfth, have not survived well and are hard to date.⁵⁰ Worcester Cath. Q. 44 (ca. 1200) is in an undamaged wrapper of thick, tawed skin lined with fabric.⁵¹

At least 139 books in blind-stamped bindings survive from the twelfth century,⁵² after which, for unknown reasons, there is a long hiatus until the late fifteenth century, after which they become common. They look quite different from the standard tawed bindings described earlier in this chapter. The wooden boards were covered with 'thinner, shiny tanned leather, usually red-brown, impressed all over with rows of very small stamps, of many different designs on a single binding, arranged in patterns of grids, circles and other geometric shapes'.⁵³ About ninety are so similar to each other that they have been thought to come from the same place, assumed by Hobson and confirmed by De Hamel, to be Paris. Sixty-three of the ninety cover glossed books of the Bible, the bindings being more or less contemporary with the books they covered. Here, then, is an instance of binding being co-ordinated with the manufacture of the unbound book. But Paris was not the only venue for the production of such bindings. Three blind-stamped romanesque bindings were made at Winchester, commercially no doubt but for the Cathedral Priory there, and the contemporary binding of the late twelfth-century Puiset Bible was made at

Durham. Other such bindings have been associated with London. All seem to be datable to the second half of the century.

Treasure bindings were applied almost exclusively to great liturgical books used in the Church, gospel books and the like, generally kept securely in the treasury rather than with the library books. They were made in some abundance between late antiquity and the eleventh century, so that probably not many new ones were needed in the twelfth century, except for newly made books. They consisted of wooden boards, attached to the main book in the same way as any other binding. But instead of a skin cover, to the boards were nailed sheets or strips of metal, on which were mounted files of gemstones *en cabochon*, enamels or antique cameos, usually flanking a centrepiece of gold or ivory depicting a scene such as Christ in Majesty. Always a very small proportion of all bindings, their survival rate, for obvious reasons, is appallingly low.⁵⁴ From England, not a single medieval treasure binding survives intact, thanks to the depredations of Henry VIII's officials. Glimpses of what has been lost are provided by church inventories. For instance, a mid-twelfth-century inventory from the abbey of Ely lists seventeen gospel books, all in treasure bindings which are described in detail; at least six, perhaps as many as nine of these were made in the tenth and eleventh centuries; only one was definitely made in the twelfth.⁵⁵ Another such inventory, drawn up in 1295 at St Paul's, London, lists eleven gospel books in treasure bindings, none datable except for three which were given in the late twelfth century by the evidently wealthy Henry of Northampton, canon before 1174 and probably dying on 2 April 1192.⁵⁶ The remains of such bindings, the boards only without the ornament, survive on two twelfth-century books from Britain, the Sherborne 'Cartulary' (really a gospel book) and the Book of Llandaff (a register of documents).⁵⁷ The extreme discrepancy between the figures supplied by medieval inventories and what survives today holds good for France, but less so for the regions of the old German Empire. From northern Italy to the Netherlands, but especially within modern Germany, dozens of such bindings survive, most of them modified in the later Middle Ages or badly damaged; on the other hand, many essentially twelfth-century treasure bindings cannibalized much older components such as ivory plaques, enamels and cameos. It appears that from the eleventh-century Liège and the Mosan region, then from the mid-twelfth-century Limoges, were centres where such bindings, or their metallic elements, might have been made commercially.

Notes

The sections of this chapter on parchment and binding are contributed by R. Thomson, and those on dimensions and layout by E. Kwakkel.

1. Gullick 1991, 145, on terminology. At least in the Anglophone world the current preference is to use the term 'parchment' to describe indifferently writing material prepared from the skin of either sheep or calves.
2. See Chapter 14.
3. 'Legit, inquis, Deus in caelis librum Thelmoth. Sed cuiusmodi librum? Si talem quales alios cotidie in usu legendi habemus, utique ex pellibus arietum, hircorum uel uitulorum, siue ex biblis uel iuncis orientalium paludum, aut ex rasuris ueterum pannorum seu ex alia qualibet forte uiliori materia compactos.' Peter the Venerable, *Adversus Iudeorum Inveteratam Duritiam*, ed. Y. Friedman, CCCM 58 (1985), 130 ll. 191–7. The earliest surviving Western paper manuscript may be Tours, Bibl. mun. 927, ff. 1–46, dated late twelfth or early thirteenth century. The earliest datable manuscript is Padua, Bibl. Antoniana 550, from 1287.
4. The classic account of paper manufacture is Dard Hunter, esp. 170–202; also *CHBB II*. 48 n. 49; Chapter 14 of the present volume; Kwakkel 2003, at 220–7.
5. *MMBL* I, ix n. 3; Gullick 1991, 145 n. 1.
6. *The Account-Book of Beaulieu Abbey*, ed. S. F. Hockey (RHS Camden 4th ser. 16 [1975], 195–8); Gullick 1991, 147–8, 153.
7. Thompson 1936, 24–30; De Hamel 1992, 8–16; Clemens and Graham, 2007, 9–13.
8. Brown 1993.
9. Cf. Brown 1993, 126, who translates 'Scotia' as Ireland.
10. Thomson, *Bury Bible*, 6–7, 26.
11. F. M. Stenton, *Documents Illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw* (London, 1920), 198.
12. *Pipe Roll Soc.* 26 (1905), 39.
13. 'Pargamenarii . . . cum ad locutorium cum pargameno uenerint prima die aduentus sui caritatem domus scilicet panem et ceruisiam de cellario abbatis, per manum ianitoris habere debent': *Landboc sive Registrum monasterii . . . de Winchelcumba . . .*, ed. D. Royce (2 vols., Exeter, 1892), I. 56.
14. *The Cartulary of Worcester Cathedral Priory* (Pipe Roll Soc., n.s. 38 [1968], no. 341).
15. Hereford Cathedral, Dean and Chapter 990.
16. A. Saltman, *Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury* (London, 1956), 382, charter 157.
17. See Chapters 2 and 3 of this volume.
18. The 353 manuscripts at the basis of this graph are listed in Kwakkel 2012, 112–25 (Table 3); conventions for inclusion at 112. Number of manuscripts per quarter-century: twenty-six (1075–99), thirty-eight (1100–24), seventy-five

- (1125–49), ninety-eight (1150–74), sixty-four (1175–99) and fifty-two (1200–24).
19. Bozzolo and Ornato, 1983, 287–310, esp. at 287.
 20. For this calculation, I divided the height of the textblock by the number of lines. I was unable to calculate this number for Bodl. Libr. Rawl. Q. f. 8.
 21. De Hamel 2001, 64–91; Ayres 1994.
 22. The list totals 312 manuscripts. I have removed the following genres from the enumeration because of the small number of manuscripts they contain: sermons (twelve MSS, 319 mm), classical texts (nine MSS, average 249 mm), law manuscripts (five MSS, 365 mm) and encyclopaedic works (four MSS, 338 mm). The remaining eleven manuscripts are of miscellaneous contents.
 23. Robinson 2008, 54 (type of book), Kwakkel 2012a (use), Huglo 2001, 89–104, esp. Tables 3.1a at 96, 3.1b at 97 and 3.2 at 99 (cantatoria and tropers).
 24. See Chapter 2 of the present volume.
 25. See Chapter 3 of the present volume.
 26. Smith 2009, 17–38.
 27. Smith 2009, 92–105 and 105–9, respectively. For layout of the *Gloss*, see also Gumbert 1999.
 28. See also De Hamel, *Glossed Books*, 23–7.
 29. Kwakkel 2012a. Examples are the three base manuscripts in Reynolds 1996 (all actual teaching copies): BnF lat. 8216 (1150–1200); Cambridge, Peterhouse 229 (ca. 1150); BL Harl. 3534 (1100–25).
 30. Reynolds 1996a, 103–5.
 31. Rouse and Rouse 2000, 17–50 (concerning Paris, 1175–1225).
 32. Kwakkel 2015, 65–70.
 33. Palmer 2010 and Reilly 2012, 129, respectively.
 34. Parkes 1991, and Rouse and Rouse 1991. The latter, at 207: ‘One cannot give a precise *terminus ante quem* for general acceptance of the individual elements, save to say that by about 1220 they were all standard; most can be seen on the pages of any late twelfth-century glossed Bible or manuscript of the Sentences.’
 35. ‘Variable’ in this graph represents manuscripts that mix the number of columns, mostly showing both one and two columns (eight MSS) or two and three (four MSS).
 36. This contradicts earlier assessments, for example in Parkes 2008, 55: ‘During the twelfth century scribes preferred two-column layouts for “library” copies of texts, especially patristic works.’
 37. Counted are columns with main text only, not those filled with glosses. The breakdown: 49 per cent (1075–99), 47 per cent (1100–24), 47 per cent, (1125–49), 49 per cent (1150–74), 47 per cent (1175–99) and 50 per cent (1200–24).
 38. Examples: BL Royal 10 C. iv (Gratian, *Decretum*, 1198–1202), Royal 4 D. vii (Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, 1195–1214).
 39. Gumbert 2011.
 40. Hobson 1929, 56. A famous example is Durham Cath. A. IV. 34: Mynors, *Durham*, 57, no. 74; Wormald and Wright 1958, 38–9 and pl. 7; Doyle 1972,

- 35–47. Michael Gullick informs me that parchment tackets remain in place in five of the book's eight quires.
41. Szirmai 1999, ch. 8; Gullick in Mynors and Thomson, *Hereford*, xxvi–xxxii; Gullick in Thomson, *Worcester*, xl, xliii–xliv; Gullick 2008, 95–103 and fig. 1; Clarkson 2013.
 42. For instance, in James 1907–14, describing Cambridge, Gonv. and Caius Coll. MSS 2/2, 3/3, 6/6, 7/7, 10/10, 12/128, 14/130, 15/131, 16/132, 17/133, 18/134, 19/135 &c., all replaced within a few years of the publication of James' catalogue.
 43. Gullick 1996, 249–50.
 44. Thomson, *Worcester*, xxxi, xlvii–xlviii.
 45. Powell and Waters 1969.
 46. Szirmai, ch. 7, listing 230-odd surviving bindings.
 47. Pollard 1975.
 48. De Hamel, *Glossed Books*, ch. 6.
 49. Gullick 1996, Gumbert 2011.
 50. Scholla 2002.
 51. Thomson, *Worcester*, xlv, 143 and pl. 5(a–b). Another limp binding with fabric lining is The Hague, Koninklijke Bibl. 73 J 7 (late twelfth century).
 52. Schmidt-Künsemüller lists 138 examples, to which another has been added by Gullick 2000. Of earlier literature on such bindings, see particularly Hobson 1988, papers I–IV.
 53. De Hamel 1984, 64.
 54. Ganz 2014 discusses treasure bindings across the whole of the Middle Ages, giving the impression that the twelfth century was not one of its high points. For a bibliography of earlier surveys, see his 26 nn. 4–6; fundamental is Loubier; also Fingernagel, 'Der romanische Bucheinband', in id. 2007, 355–408, and many German exhibition catalogues.
 55. *Liber Eliensis* III. 50.
 56. Ker, *BCL*, 230–1; J. Neve 1968, 37.
 57. Borrie; Huws, 146–8.

CHAPTER 2

Book Script

Erik Kwakkel

The palaeography of twelfth-century manuscripts is defined by transformation. Book scripts used by European scribes show considerable change over the course of the century, whereby either a substantial number of letterforms or an entire script system was replaced. For example, Visigothic disappeared over the course of the twelfth century, while Beneventan shifted into a period of decline from around 1200, the first signs of which are already observed in the twelfth century.¹ An important factor in these shifts is the emergence of Gothic script, or rather, the coming of features that would ultimately culminate in the script we call Gothic Textualis.² For example, what Lowe identifies as markers of decline in Beneventan are, in fact, Gothic traits that become woven into the script, including key features such as the angular appearance of round strokes ('angularity') and biting in adjacent letters with contrary curved strokes ('biting'), which Lowe calls 'unions'.³ However, rather than focusing on geographically confined 'national' styles of handwriting, this chapter assesses the scripts used for books across Europe in general. Ultimately this undertaking brings to the foreground one particular kind of script, Caroline minuscule, albeit that the twelfth-century version looks quite different from what is encountered in the Carolingian age. The challenge of this chapter is to assess how and to what extent twelfth-century script deviates from 'pure' Caroline minuscule, how the influx of new features occurred over time and whether something can be said about the geographical spread of these novelties.

Caroline, Gothic and Pregothic

As in many other respects, the twelfth century is a transitional period from a palaeographical point of view. As the period progresses, we witness the waning of Caroline minuscule, the dominant book script from ca. 800 to ca. 1100, as well as the proliferation of letterforms that are usually regarded as

features of Gothic Textualis, a script whose life spans from the early thirteenth to the sixteenth century. While there is considerable agreement about what constitutes Caroline minuscule and Gothic Textualis, whose traits are fairly well defined,⁴ palaeographers show less conformity about the script encountered in the twelfth century, a script that shows a mixture of Caroline and Gothic features (Figure 2.1). Some define this style of handwriting as a late expression of Caroline minuscule, addressing it with such terms as 'Late Caroline' or 'Post Caroline', while others regard it as an early form of Gothic Textualis, labelling it 'Primitive Gothic', 'Proto-Gothic', 'Littera praegothica' or 'Pregothic'. Emphasizing the script's hybridity, a third group calls it 'Carolino-Gothica', 'Caroline gothicisante', 'Minuscola di transizione', 'Übergangsschrift' or 'Transitional script'.⁵

There is also disparity with respect to the start and longevity of this 'Pregothic script', as it is addressed here for convenience. While most palaeographical handbooks place the start in the late eleventh or early twelfth century, the verdict of when the script reaches maturity varies from the late twelfth century to ca. 1275,⁶ which may be reflective of the geographical variation in the adoption of the script, as is discussed later in this chapter. In the same handbooks Pregothic is treated as an entity of its own, meaning that it is discussed in a separate chapter or section. There are reasons *not* to do so. Both Caroline and Gothic are stable script systems with core features that remained unchanged even as regional peculiarities emerged. In contrast, Pregothic script is, at its heart, defined by continuous change, given that it represents a moving point on the sliding scale from Caroline to Gothic. Starting in the eleventh century, the script develops from an almost pure form of Caroline minuscule with a modest number of features we tend to define as Gothic to, in the thirteenth century, a script that can almost be called Gothic Textualis, were it not for some remaining traces of Caroline. By definition Pregothic script is never Caroline or Gothic, but it represents a collection of stages in between the two script systems.

This blend makes Pregothic problematic to define, study and understand. A major problem is that of identity. It is unclear when Caroline minuscule has acquired sufficient change to be called something else: how many Gothic features does a Caroline bookhand need to take on before it can be called Pregothic? The variety of terms used to address the transitional script of the Long Twelfth Century is telling of just how differently scholars are inclined to answer this query. Some observations in this chapter further aggravate this problem, in particular that some of the features defined as 'Gothic' in palaeographical handbooks are in fact

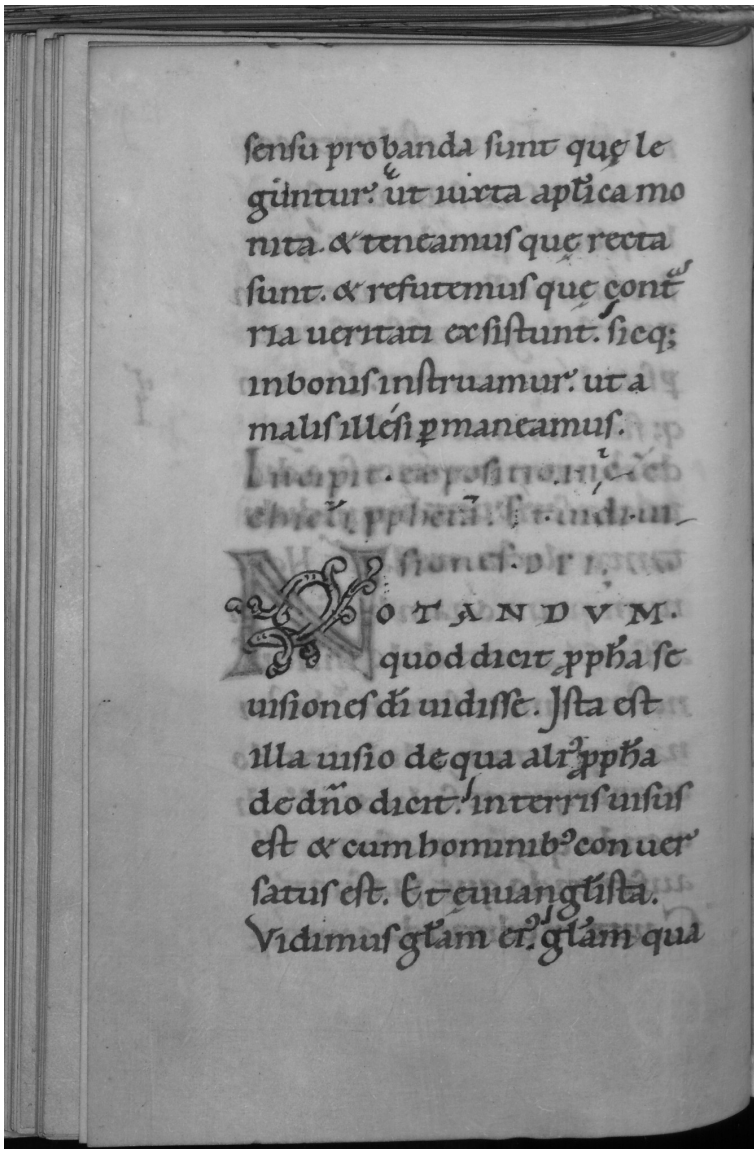


Figure 2.1 Pre Gothic book script, dated 1145–9. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 196.

encountered as early as the second quarter of the eleventh century. A second problem is that of description. While Pregothisc is evidently a different beast from the scripts that flank it, we have no vocabulary at our disposal to explain precisely in what way. Because Pregothisc script is Caroline minuscule that includes, to a varying extent, Gothic features, one is forced to describe Pregothisc by referring to features of two other scripts. There are, at any rate, no apparent script features that are unique to Pregothisc in that they were *not* included in Caroline or would *not* become part of Gothic.

Assessing Pregothisc Book Script

Given that the presence of Gothic features is ultimately what differentiates Pregothisc from Caroline, a way out of the first problem – when to call a style of handwriting Pregothisc – may be to focus on the emergence and development of Gothic traits, as is done in this chapter. In an attempt to define Pregothisc and assess its development, this chapter drafts into service all dated and datable manuscripts contained in the *Catalogue des manuscrits datés* that were produced between 1075 and 1225, a total of 353 manuscripts. For each of these, twenty-eight palaeographical changes are examined and keyed into a database, noting whether a letter shape's execution is in Caroline or Gothic style, or whether a manuscript features both forms at the same time (a mixed use of traditional and new forms).⁷ This quantitative approach ultimately shows how the execution of letterforms changed over time, allowing us to measure the waning of Caroline, the emergence and attainment of Gothic features, the speed of their adoption and the regional variety in their application. Before turning to these key issues, the second problem – that of description – needs to be addressed. How does one describe evolving letter shapes in such a way that they can become part of quantitative research?

The answer to this question lies in a particular mode of change encountered in the developing script of the twelfth century. As I argue elsewhere in more detail, medieval scribes in the process of adopting a new script changed their scribal mannerisms in two ways.⁸ The first is through a process that may be called 'substitution', whereby one graph (letterform) was replaced by another. Pregothisc script encompasses only a modest number of these: the introduction of two uncial letterforms (round **d** and **s**) and the emergence of the *orum* abbreviation for **r** ('round r').⁹ These new forms were introduced relatively late in the period and they gained ground very slowly (Figure 2.2). For example, the oldest dated

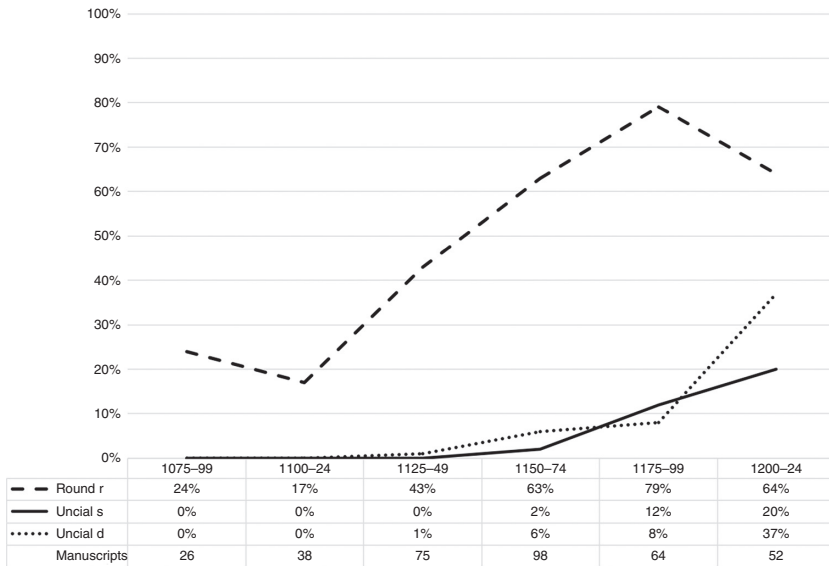


Figure 2.2 Three examples of substituting letterforms.

manuscripts in which **d** and **s** are consistently presented in uncial form were made in 1125-49.¹⁰ At the close of the Long Twelfth Century, in 1200-24, less than half of the manuscripts consistently present the new forms (**d**: 37 per cent, **s**: 19 per cent). Round **r**, which was exclusively used in **or**-ligature, gained a much firmer foothold: in the last quarter of our period it is used in 64 per cent of manuscripts.¹¹

A second mode of change, which can be called 'modification', was less invasive and much more common. With modification, a graph was not replaced by something entirely new, but the existing appearance was altered, usually modestly. As in other medieval scripts, it concerned alterations on the level of the stroke, the individual trace of the pen. Such modifications were produced through a change in the stroke's length (a reduction in some cases, an extension in others), direction (the 'vanishing point' of the pen, which can be quantified by comparing it to the dial of a clock) and shape (e.g. straight, curved or forming a bowl). Additionally, scribes modified the number of strokes that were used to produce a graph: either strokes were added to the Caroline presentation of a letter or they were cut.¹² This second mode of change is crucial for this chapter, because the notions of 'reduction', 'extension', 'direction' and 'number' enable us to assess the hybrid script of

the Long Twelfth Century in a quantifiable manner. Approaching Pregothic script in this fashion offers three important insights, which are addressed in the remainder of this chapter: script development in the twelfth century lacks cohesion, is much less innovative than traditionally assumed and shows great regional variety.

Lack of Cohesion

The adoption rate of Gothic features over the course of the twelfth century was uneven. One might perhaps have expected that a distinct form of Pregothic emerged in the handwriting of a small number of scribes, such as inhabitants of a certain intellectual centre or monks affiliated to a certain order, after which that specific style gained popularity among a growing number of scribes and geographical locations. However, the pattern of development is very different. Notably, at a moment when a sharp increase is seen in the adoption of one Gothic letterform, the popularity of another increased only modestly or not at all. For example, at one point the application of Gothic feet (which turn to the right) gains popularity with surprising speed: in 1090–1104 only 20 per cent of manuscripts show this feature systematically, while in 1105–19 the feature has jumped to 70 per cent.¹³ Typically, however, Gothic features show very little growth in these two decades.

The sharp increase in both the adoption of angularity and Gothic feet draws attention to something else. The two sharp increases occur in the same manuscripts: fifteen of the seventeen manuscripts with consistent Gothic feet also feature angularity. This suggests that a significant number of scribes adopted two particular Gothic features in a short period of time, while not showing interest in a great deal of other new traits. Notably, the adoption of several new features by the same scribe is not a common occurrence in the twelfth century and certainly not for a large group of palaeographical shifts. It is only in the early thirteenth century that it became common for scribes to adopt new Gothic features in larger numbers.

The varying speed with which new features gained popularity and the varying moments at which their popularity increased attest to a lack of cohesion in the book script of the Long Twelfth Century, the development of which appears uncoordinated and random. Other observations underscore this assessment, such as the occurrence of apparently opposing trends. For example, while one letter development entailed an extension of a stroke (the second leg of **h** and **x** will ultimately be placed below

baseline), in other cases the same stroke was retracted (**f**, **r** and **s**). Ultimately the development of book script between 1075 and 1225 can perhaps best be understood as a collection of individual developments culminating into a style of writing that no longer underwent significant change, thus marking the birth of Gothic Textualis.

Innovation

While the chapters in this volume show how the century and a half between 1075 and 1225 represents an age of renewal, it is necessary to temper the traditional verdict that the period is innovative from a palaeographical point of view. The main reason for moderation is the important observation that the roots of many script innovations tied to the twelfth century are, in fact, encountered much earlier. The extent to which Gothic features are present in the last quarter of the eleventh century (when Pregothisc script is traditionally regarded as being in its infancy, as discussed) is striking. An example is the Pregothisc trend whereby the stem of **f**, straight **r** and long **s** was reduced in size: while Carolingian scribes placed the feet of the stems below baseline, their peers writing Gothic Textualis would ultimately place them *on* baseline (Figure 2.3). Dated manuscripts suggest that a small portion of scribes in Europe (10 per cent) already

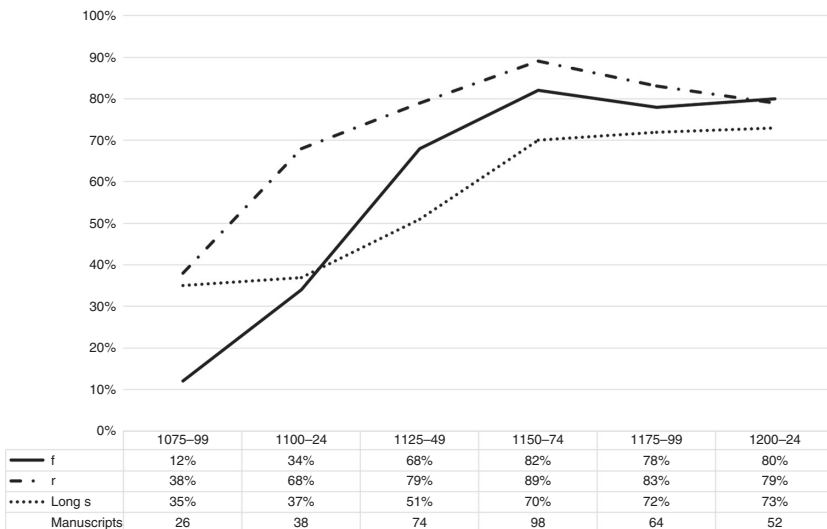


Figure 2.3 Examples of increased popularity of placing feet on baseline.

placed the **f** consistently on baseline in 1075–99. More scribes already did so with long **s** (35 per cent) and straight **r** (38 per cent). Obviously the beginning of this particular palaeographical trend predates 1075.

Many other Gothic features appear in such high numbers in the last quarter of the eleventh century. For example, fifteen of the twenty-six dated manuscripts made in that period (71 per cent) extend the second leg of **x** below baseline (on baseline in Caroline); thirteen (50 per cent) present their **a** in the Gothic fashion, with the vertical stroke in an upright position (slanted in Caroline); eight manuscripts (31 per cent) present **g** with a closed lobe (open in Caroline); the same number use uncial **d** complementary to straight **d**; in seven manuscripts (27 per cent) the ‘tongue’ stroke of **e** is traced in the direction of two o’clock on the dial (three o’clock in Caroline); and in four (15 per cent) the minims are in the Gothic style, meaning their feet turn to the right (to the left or down in Caroline). Notably, these examples all concern manuscripts in which a scribe consistently presents a given letter shape in the Gothic style. If we also include cases in which the Gothic presentation is used from time to time in an individual manuscript that also presents these same forms in the Caroline manner, the numbers are even higher. To give one example, in 1075–99 an additional nine manuscripts show a mix of Caroline and Gothic feet at minims, meaning that half of the twenty-six manuscripts from that quarter-century show some degree of ‘Gothicness’ in the formation of their feet (either consistent or sporadic).

These examples highlight a key feature of script development in the twelfth century: many of the palaeographical shifts measured in that century have, in fact, older roots. For a number of script features these grow deep into the eleventh century. For example, the sixty-five dated manuscripts produced between 1000 and 1074 show that the practice of placing the stems of **f**, **r** and **s** on baseline was not uncommon in the second quarter of the century (Figure 2.3). Among the seventeen dated manuscripts from this quarter-century two place long **s** consistently on baseline, three do so for **f** and five for straight **r**. Given the absence of these traits in dated manuscripts from the first quarter, it is tempting to infer that the novelty of placing feet on baseline emerged in the second quarter of the eleventh century.¹⁴ Some other Gothic traits appear to be even older. For example, among the twenty-three dated manuscripts from the first quarter of the eleventh century there are four in which the stem of **t** pricks through the bar consistently, while eight present **g** with closed lobe.

While the numbers in these examples are still relatively low, they do highlight how features considered typical for *Littera Textualis* were

practised by scribes in the first half of the eleventh century, well before the Gothic or even Pregothish period. In fact, while more scribes in the twelfth century began to favour Gothic traits as the century progressed, only a limited number of features are actually innovations of the century itself. Dated manuscripts suggest that the few real palaeographical novelties are: the five different kinds of biting (involving the letters **b**, **d**, **h**, **o** and **p**), the extension of the second **i** in **ij**, the use of uncial **s** in final position and the tailed **e** (e-caudata) that loses its tail.¹⁵

There is another reason why we may need to temper a claim that the twelfth century is an innovative period as far as script is concerned. Dated manuscripts show how the process of adopting Gothic features had by no means been completed by the early thirteenth century. In fact, during the first quarter of the thirteenth century few palaeographical features are consistently executed in the Gothic fashion in all dated manuscripts. Notably, ten Gothic features are encountered in fewer than 50 per cent of the manuscripts in the corpus (which, in the period 1200–24, consists of fifty-two manuscripts): uncial **d** (45 per cent), biting in ‘de’/‘do’ (39 per cent), diacritical **ij** (38 per cent), biting following **p** (26 per cent), biting following **b** (24 per cent), biting following **h** (19 per cent), uncial **s** in final position (17 per cent), biting following **o** (15 per cent), use of round **r** after **b** or **p** (13 per cent), **ct**-ligature (9 per cent) and diacritical single **i** (7 per cent). In other words, the script developments occurring over the course of the twelfth century do not culminate in a script that has finished developing. It appears that, palaeographically speaking, the period is part of a much longer continuum, as is also suggested by the presence of Gothic features in the first half of the twelfth century.

Regional Variety

Dated manuscripts also highlight, lastly, a lack of cohesion in the geographical spread of Gothic features, which varied significantly in terms of both speed and execution (the manner in which the letters were formed). The extent to which the regional acceptance of Gothic traits varied becomes clear when we compare England, France and the Germanic countries (nowadays Austria, Germany, The Netherlands and Switzerland, and perhaps Flanders as well), which formed a separate *Kulturraum*.¹⁶ The general trend is that during the twelfth century far fewer Germanic scribes favoured Gothic traits in comparison to their peers in England and France. The placement of **f**, **s** and **r** on baseline may serve as

an example: this trend is much less popular among Germanic scribes. In most quarter-centuries more than twice as many scribes in England and France execute their **r** in the Gothic fashion than do their counterparts in Germanic countries.¹⁷

Another regional peculiarity of Germanic countries is that some Gothic features are never used there, even when they are well established elsewhere. This phenomenon is witnessed most clearly in fusion or 'biting', an important Gothic feature whereby two adjacent contrary curved letterforms started to overlap.¹⁸ The feature whereby uncial **d** consistently merges with round letterforms in an adjacent position ('de', 'do') first appears in 1150–74 in England and France, albeit in a very low number of manuscripts (4 per cent of surviving dated manuscripts). From there it grows in popularity to 13 per cent (England) and 12 per cent (France) in 1175–99, and subsequently to 60 per cent (England) and 30 per cent (France) at the end of our period, in 1200–24. Notably, this particular type of fusion is encountered in none of the dated manuscripts from Germanic countries in these same periods. The same goes for fusion involving **h** ('he', 'ho'), **o** ('od', 'oe', 'oq') and **p** ('pe', 'po'). Scribes in England and France, in contrast, did use these forms, although not all of them did so in significant numbers. In the last quarter-century of our period relatively few cases of biting involving **h** are observed (France: 17 per cent, England: 13 per cent), as are those involving **o** (France: 15 per cent, England: 7 per cent). More frequent is fusion with the letter **p** (France: 22 per cent and England: 31 per cent). Here the contrast with the mannerism of Germanic scribes, who do not fuse letters with **p** at all, is most profound.

Observations like these underscore the importance of studying script in the Long Twelfth Century on a regional as well as a broader European level. Moreover, they also identify regional differences as yet another variable in the development of book script – that is, in addition to the precise moment at which Gothic features were introduced and the speed with which they became more popular. Within these large geographical spaces smaller regions may be identified with their own palaeographical peculiarities (e.g. southern France versus France as a whole).¹⁹ Within such smaller regions two kinds of palaeographical idiosyncrasies are observed. The first is related to the adoption of Gothic features, and it reflects the pattern witnessed on a supra-regional level: a Gothic feature may be introduced at a different moment or develop at a different speed. For example, scribes in southern France tended not to execute the feet at the minims of **m** and **n** in the Gothic fashion (with sharp flicks to the right),

but commonly directed them straight down. This happened as late as the second half of the twelfth century, when even the majority of Germanic scribes had embraced this feature.²⁰

The second manner in which a smaller geographical space could branch off in a palaeographical respect does not concern the introduction of Gothic features as such, but the manner in which the new features were executed. For example, while scribes in southern France were at par with their peers in other French regions in the adoption of the seven-shaped Tironian note, which first supplemented and later fully replaced the ampersand, they actually shaped this symbol in a uniquely southern French manner: it is characterized by its upright appearance and by its very long and straight horizontal stroke. Similarly, scribes in the region had their own way of shaping, for example **a**, **i**, **ta** and the con-abbreviation.²¹ These distinct southern features show that confined geographical areas could develop their own 'brand' or 'interpretation' of Pregothisc.

Among all this geographical variation one region appears to stand out in terms of advancement. As the examples given here show, across the board it is France that most frequently comes in first place regarding the introduction moment of new features and their rate of adoption. It is possible, however, to home in on a region within France where Gothic features are encountered notably early and in high numbers: Normandy. For example, Norman scribes are very early adopters of Gothic angularity and the Gothic fashioning of feet.²² There is more evidence for the advanced position of Normandy. It turns out that Norman scribes also take a prominent position at the head of the column when we observe all (twenty-eight) palaeographical traits that underwent change. When we place the dated manuscripts from 1075 to 1099 in the order of the number of features that have consistently been copied in the Gothic fashion, the first four turn out to have been made in Norman houses, while the fifth was produced in Christ Church, Canterbury, a community that included a large contingent of Norman monks.²³

Other Modes of Writing

Given the focus of this volume, namely manuscript books and their contents, the script used for documentary texts has so far been excluded from discussion.²⁴ While full manuscripts are not usually copied in documentary script, it deserves a place in this chapter because it was, from time to time, used for copying a segment of a manuscript. Pregothisc documentary script is closely related to Pregothisc book script.²⁵ Pronounced differences

are the high head of **a** (which could be extended significantly), the extension of ascenders and descenders, the extension of **f** and long **s** below baseline, the sharp turning to the left of the feet at **f** and **s** (and sometimes **p**) and the near-formation of loops at the ascender of uncial **d** and sometimes **f**, though this curl is never completed into a real loop (true cursive elements, such as connections between letters, are absent in the script). The top of ascenders is sometimes accentuated with a decorative motif, such as a superfluous curl. All of these features are most clearly observed when Pregothisc documentary script is written with a thinner and more flexible pen (as was customary for the production of documents). They are also encountered, though less pronounced, in specimens written with the broad nib used for producing books, although the ascender of **d** and **f** do not usually curl.²⁶

When used in manuscripts, Pregothisc documentary script is mainly employed as a contrast script, although for this purpose scribes in the Long Twelfth Century preferred to use a smaller version of Caroline or Pregothisc, which is sometimes, for this purpose, written with a thinner pen than the main text. Documentary script plays a role in the hierarchy of scripts in that it expresses that the text in question is not part of the actual main text but is somehow standing apart from it. Pregothisc documentary script was most often used for glosses, both interlinear and in the margin (Figure 2.4),²⁷ although scribes in the Long Twelfth Century clearly preferred a smaller version of Caroline or Pregothisc for this purpose. Bischoff therefore called the script in question 'Glossenschrift', although others prefer the term 'notula script'.²⁸ When used for glosses, the script is usually notably smaller than the version used in charters, which probably results from the confined space of the margin and in between two lines.

A larger version was used for adding text within the actual text columns, although this appears to have happened infrequently. In such cases the similarity with Pregothisc book script is much more striking than in the minuscule gloss version: the central part of the letters (ascenders and descenders excluded) is effectively the same. This larger version of the documentary script is nearly always used for writing down short texts, such as *ex libris* inscriptions,²⁹ colophons,³⁰ notes,³¹ tables of contents,³² short introductions,³³ *capitula* lists,³⁴ calendar or obituary entries,³⁵ enumerations³⁶ or segments of manuscripts.³⁷ Full texts are rare, although there are exceptions, such as the autograph of Nigel Witeker, presumably a draft text, which was written in 1193–4 (Cambridge, Gonville and Caius Coll. 427/427), and a *Computus* written in England or Wales in 1164–8 (Bodl. Libr. Digby 56). Here scribes resorted to documentary script not so much because of the

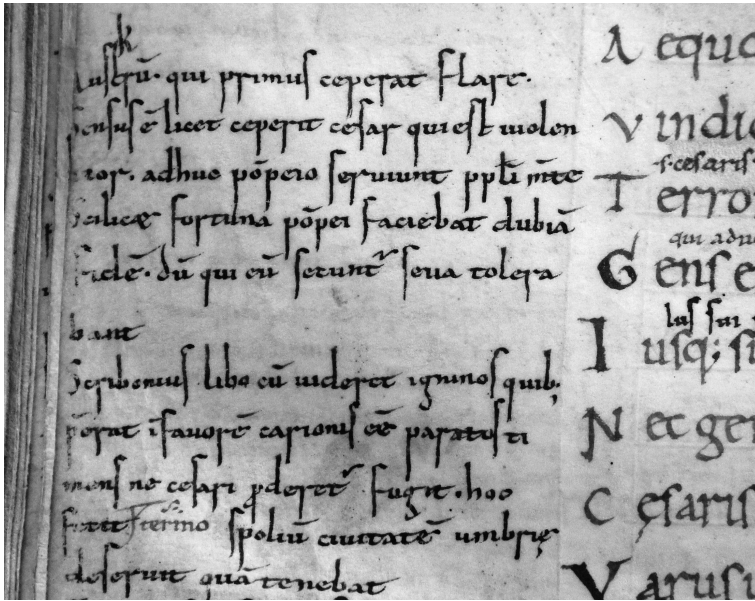


Figure 2.4 Pregothic documentary script used for added glosses, eleventh century, with twelfth-century marginal and interlinear glosses. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, VLQ 51.

contrast it provided with the Pregothic book script (which is not even found in the manuscripts), but probably because it provided a faster means to copy the text. The ‘utilitarian’ nature of the works may have invited a less formal writing style because it meant the copying could be done with less effort.

From time to time one encounters a manuscript from the Long Twelfth Century copied in a bookhand that was influenced by Pregothic documentary script. Such influence is often shown by an extension of **f** and **s** well below baseline, perhaps even with the foot bending sharply to the left. A notably early example of such influence is a manuscript made in Freising in 1022 (BSB Cgm 5248/7), with extended **f** and **s** and decorative curls at the top of ascenders.

Making a Script

The observations presented so far prompt several important queries: What motivated scribes to seek new ways of executing letters? How did Gothic features become established among individual scribes or groups

of scribes sharing a scriptorium? How does a palaeographical feature turn from idiosyncrasy into norm? A key notion at the heart of these issues must be training, which is where the acquisition of any script started. While little is known about scribal training, in most monasteries of the eleventh and twelfth centuries there will probably have been a person assigned the task of teaching novices to write. Some have argued that the cantor played this role, given that he was responsible for running the school and supplying scribes with the materials for producing manuscripts.³⁸

Cohen-Mushlin's study of the scriptorium at Frankenthal in the second half of the twelfth century suggests that students learned to write a script by studying writing samples of their master and attempting to imitate his style. This was done, she states, to ensure the production of palaeographically 'homogenous and uniform manuscripts'.³⁹ Surviving Frankenthal manuscripts show how this was achieved. First the master wrote out a few lines, after which the student took over and wrote a few lines of his own. Then the master took over again, writing a few lines, after which the pupil wrote some more.⁴⁰ 'Taming' pupils in this fashion (as Cohen-Mushlin calls it) – which implies that master and student actually sat next to one another – may have been a much broader practice. It is also encountered, for example, in manuscripts copied by Orderic Vitalis (d. 1142) in the Norman house of St-Évroult.⁴¹

The teaching method whereby the teacher's handwriting is used as a model and where the teacher closely monitors how well the student is following his example demonstrates the importance of the monastic writing master to the process of script change, at least within individual communities. After all, a conservative teacher could arguably hold back, palaeographically speaking, several generations of new monks in his vicinity, while one who was willing to weave new letterforms in his script had the ability to advance script around him. Particularly important is how closely the script of the pupil could match that of his teacher, which is evidenced both by the manuscripts from Frankenthal and by those produced by Orderic Vitalis. In fact, in books from St-Évroult a hand is encountered that looks so similar to Orderic's style of writing that the writer is dubbed his *alter ego*. Chibnall concluded that the scribe 'had learnt to write under [Orderic's] guidance, and had modeled himself remarkably closely to his master'.⁴² Such observations suggest that if the writing master included Gothic features, these subsequently had a good chance of spreading through the community.

Still, training cannot be the whole story. The history of Pregothisc script is one of continuous – if inconsistent – change, which could only have occurred if monastic writing masters were introduced to new script features on a regular basis. In other words, another key notion in the development of book script in the Long Twelfth Century must be travel, either by members of religious houses or by their books. The Norman Conquest shows just how profound the influence of travelling mannerisms could be on the development of a book script. Norman scribes, whose handwriting was heavy on Gothic traits, spread an advanced form of Pregothisc script throughout England as they entered religious communities there.⁴³ This may help explain why the scripts of England and France take a similar path of development in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, as the figures shown earlier suggest. Moreover, the scripts include palaeographical traits not seen elsewhere in Europe, such as the macron in the shape of a bowl that is slightly slanted.

In the wake of the Conquest two houses in Kent adopted a writing style that was modelled on script from the Norman abbey of Bec. The script, which is known as ‘prickly’ because of the split tops of ascenders, the use of hairlines and the pointy top or back of round letters (c, e, o, t), was first developed in Christ Church, Canterbury and then brought to Rochester, where it was used in its own distinctive style.⁴⁴ Rochester monks all came from Normandy, but some were trained in other Continental regions, such as Germany, the Low Countries and Italy. In the first quarter of the twelfth century, they all abandoned their native styles and switched to the new prickly script, which may have been modelled on the handwriting of Ralph, the community’s prior until 1107, whose manuscripts are early and pronounced examples of prickly script.⁴⁵ The new script was executed so perfectly within the community that the Continental origins of their users became hidden: only when the scribes tested their pens on flyleaves did they reveal their native script, as if lowering their guard for a few moments.⁴⁶

The case of Rochester not only underscores the importance of modelling and travel but also how an entire community could quickly and perfectly switch palaeographical register and acquire a new script that was heavy on Gothic traits. Given these observations, the lack of speed and consistency in the development of book script during the twelfth century in general is all the more striking: if individual communities and regions could adopt Gothic features so quickly and consistently, why does the Europe-wide process of adoption lack speed and uniformity?

Notes

1. Bischoff 1979, 122–9, esp. 129 (Visigothic); Lowe 1999, 125–6 (Beneventan).
2. Derolez, *Gothic*, 72–122.
3. Other examples: the extension of **x** below baseline, the use of round **r** in **or** combination, the formation of **ct**-ligature. See for these and other Gothic traits Lowe 1999, 126–49 (angularity at 125–6, biting at 149).
4. See the enumeration of features in Derolez, *Gothic*, 47–57 (Caroline) and 56–71 (Pregothic). Also see Bischoff 1979, 154–62 (Pregothic).
5. Derolez, *Gothic*, 57. The term ‘Übergangsschrift’ is used in Schneider 1999, 30–1, while I have used the term ‘Transitional script’ in Kwakkel 2012, 85.
6. For example, Bately, Brown and Roberts 1993, 55 (late eleventh to late twelfth century); Brown 2002, 73 (late eleventh century to middle of thirteenth century); Derolez, *Gothic*, 72 (Gothic is completed ca. 1200); Roberts 2005, 104 (from 1100 to 1150 to the early thirteenth century); Schneider 1999, 28 (late eleventh or early twelfth century to mid-thirteenth century or ca. 1275).
7. This assessment leans heavily on palaeographical research undertaken within my NWO-sponsored research project ‘Turning Over a New Leaf’ (2010–5). See Kwakkel 2012, table 3 at 112–25 for the 353 manuscripts in question and the criteria for their inclusion; at 86–7 twenty-one of the twenty-eight graphs are listed. I have since added seven, five of which are types of ‘biting’ (as noted further in this chapter).
8. Kwakkel, in press.
9. There are others, such as the exchange of ampersand for seven-shaped Tironian note and the changing appearance of the macron. However, this chapter is confined to letterforms.
10. This chapter uses twenty-five-year increments, with the exception of instances where the start and end of developments are discussed, in which case fifteen-year increments are used.
11. The actual data to support these and the following statistics are too elaborate to include in this chapter. They will be made part of the monograph I am presently preparing on the birth of Gothic script.
12. For a more detailed discussion, see Kwakkel, in press.
13. The percentages generated by the data at the heart of this chapter should be taken as approximate estimations, not absolutes. The percentages mentioned in this chapter are important for establishing whether a certain period showed significant palaeographical change and in which direction it moved, as well as for determining when a new feature was approximately introduced. See Kwakkel 2012, 206, graph 1.
14. There is one exception from near the end of the first quarter: BSB Cgm 5248/7 (Freising, ca. 1022) has the **f** consistently on baseline.
15. See n. 11.
16. See Kwakkel 2012, 91 and 102. General studies of Pregothic in these regions are Parkes 2008; Parkes 2008a, 93–100; Roberts 2005, 104–7 (England); Schneider 1987 (Germany); Bischoff 1979, 157–8 (France).

17. Differences between Germanic countries and France in the six quarter-centuries: 44 per cent, 58 per cent, 56 per cent, 35 per cent, 69 per cent and 17 per cent; differences between Germanic countries and England: 60 per cent, 62 per cent, 63 per cent, 39 per cent, 69 per cent and 31 per cent.
18. For this feature, see Derolez, *Gothic*, 57–8, and Kwakkel 2012, 96–102, including the identification of different phases of development.
19. See also Chapter 4 of the present volume.
20. The same observation is made by Derolez, *Gothic*, 117 ('a lack of precision in treatment of the feet of **m** and **n**').
21. On southern French features, see Derolez, *Gothic*, 116–7.
22. Kwakkel 2012, 94 and 96.
23. These are Bodl. Libr. Lat. th. d. 20; Rouen, Bibl. mun. 1406 (St-Ouen, 1072–92); Rouen, Bibl. mun. 1409 (Jumièges, 1078–95); CUL Ii. 3. 33 (Christ Church, Canterbury, 1079–1101); Rouen, Bibl. mun. 477 (Fécamp, ca. 1075).
24. Book and documentary scripts of the same age are ideally studied together; Derolez, *Gothic*, 4–6.
25. For features of emerging Gothic cursive script, see Derolez, *Gothic*, 125–8.
26. See, for example, Brown 2002, plate 27 at 79 (compare specimens a and b, written with flexible pen, to c, which is done in a thicker pen).
27. Leiden, Universiteitsbibl. VLQ 51. Other examples: Bodl. Libr. Canon. Class. lat. 41 (Juvenal, eleventh century); Rouen, Bibl. mun. 57 (Glossed Bible, twelfth century); BL Burney 161 (Cicero, ca. 1150–1200).
28. Bischoff 1953, 8; Schneider 1999, 26–8.
29. For example, Leiden, Universiteitsbibl. BPL 196 (1145–9).
30. For example, Leiden, Universiteitsbibl. VUL 46, dated 1176–7; Avranches, Bibl. mun. 91, f. 175v (twelfth century).
31. For example, BnF nouv. acq. lat. 214, f. 194r, ca. 1151 (donations?); Leiden, Universiteitsbibl. VLQ 12, f. 67v, dated 1190 (description and signature of individuals); BL Egerton 3661, f. 15v, of 1216 (note following explicit).
32. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibl. 76 E 15, dated 1173–83; Dijon, Bibl. mun. 114, f. 1v, written 1183–8.
33. For example, Brussels, Bibl. royale II 2425, dated 1132–5 (prologue to the Bible).
34. For example, Bodl. Libr. Canon. Pat. lat. 148, f. 99r, dated 1145; Leiden, Universiteitsbibl. BPL 20, f. 5r, the famous copy of the Dukes of Normandy, 1136–7.
35. For example, Soissons, Bibl. mun. 9, f. 122v, copied 1178–9 (calendar); Graz, Universitätsbibl. 1703/137, f. 1r, copied 1225 (obituary).
36. Leiden, Universiteitsbibl. BPL 20, f. 10r (list of abbots).
37. Admont, Stiftsbibl. 434 (1166–9), containing Gerhoch of Reichersberg's *Epistolae* with corrections in autograph.
38. Steinmann 2010, esp. 31–2.
39. Cohen-Mushlin 2010, 64.

40. As seen in ÖNB 1568, discussed in Cohen-Mushlin 2010, 64–5.
41. Such prompting is seen in, for example, Rouen, Bibl. mun. 31 and in a new Orderic Vitalis manuscript introduced in Weston 2016. Steinmann 2010, 31, discusses how the twelfth-century *Consuetudines* of Fruttuaria mention how student and master sit next to one another, reflecting perhaps a similar practice.
42. Orderic, 2. xxxix–xl, citation at xl.
43. Ker, *English MSS*, 22–32. For the opposition of English and Norman scribes against European scribes in general, see also Parkes 2008, 111.
44. Ker, *English MSS*, 26–8 (Bec influence on 27). See for the script also Webber 1995 and 2011, 214 (Norman origins).
45. For example, BL Royal 12 C. 1; Waller 1984, 240.
46. On Continental scribes in Rochester, see Kwakkel 2013.

CHAPTER 3

Decoration and Illustration

Martin Kauffmann

The position of a chapter on decoration and illustration in a volume devoted to the twelfth-century book is in some ways an uncertain one. The simplest decoration may be considered merely part of the scribal design and structuring of the text, something to be studied by the palaeographer. In catalogues of manuscripts, the line to be drawn between rubrication (often treated, together with script, in a section devoted to codicological description) and decoration is obscure. At the other end of the scale, it could be said that the pictorial or illustrative elements in a manuscript, which accompany a text, whether a bible, liturgical book, chronicle, or book of natural science, should be treated as a constituent part of the relevant textual genre: historians should include in their treatment of the text the artistic production related to it. Yet it is the perception that these two ends of the scale, the 'lowest' decoration and the 'highest' illustration, are connected, that may constitute the distinctive field of the art historian. The elements of decoration and illustration exist in a state of hierarchical relation. They are aware of each other and do not usurp each other's roles. There is almost nothing which can usefully be said about either the humblest initial or the greatest full-page miniature if one forgets that in each case these elements form part of the entirety of the illumination in the same book (Figure 3.1). It follows that the different elements all participate in versions of a single stylistic vocabulary which could be applied at different levels. That vocabulary is often labelled 'romanesque', and we shall have to confront the term in our survey of the different questions asked of and the approaches taken to decoration and illustration in the twelfth-century book.

By Whom and for Whom?

First, however, we should touch on the evidence for the patronage and production of illuminated books: artistic styles are not self-generated,

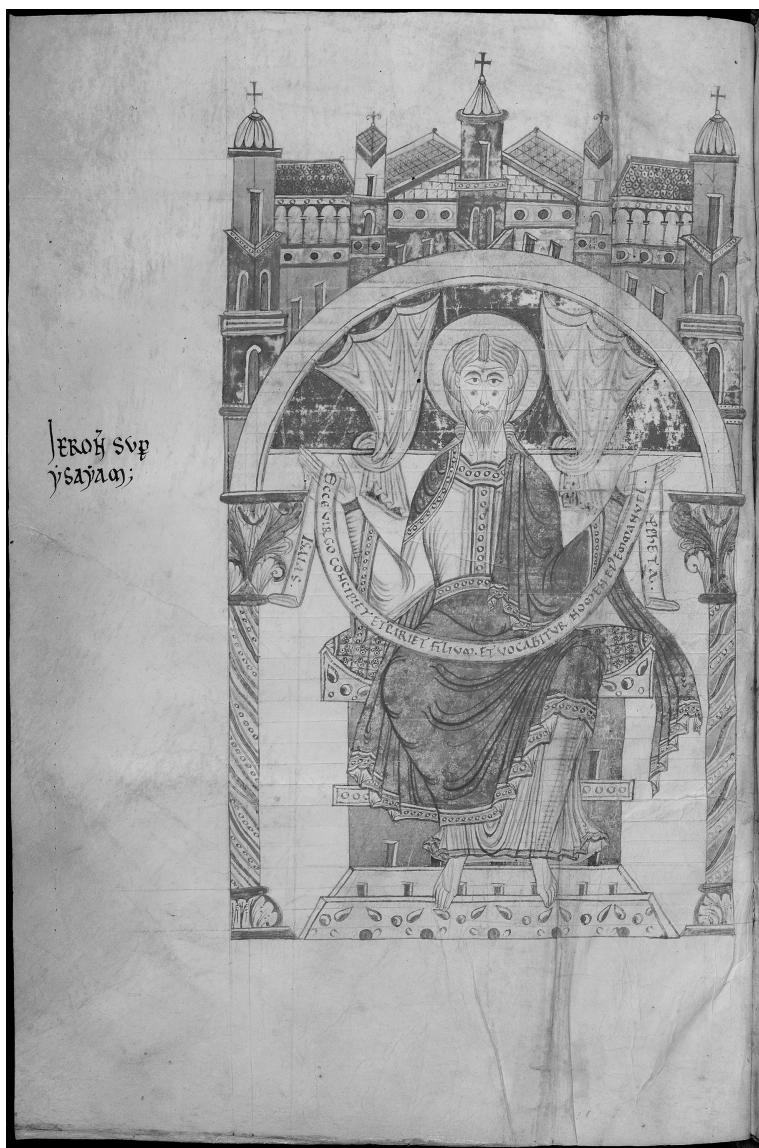


Figure 3.1 Frontispiece to the commentary of Jerome on the book of Isaiah, illuminated by Hugo 'pictor', Normandy, late eleventh century. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 717, ff. v^r–vi^r.

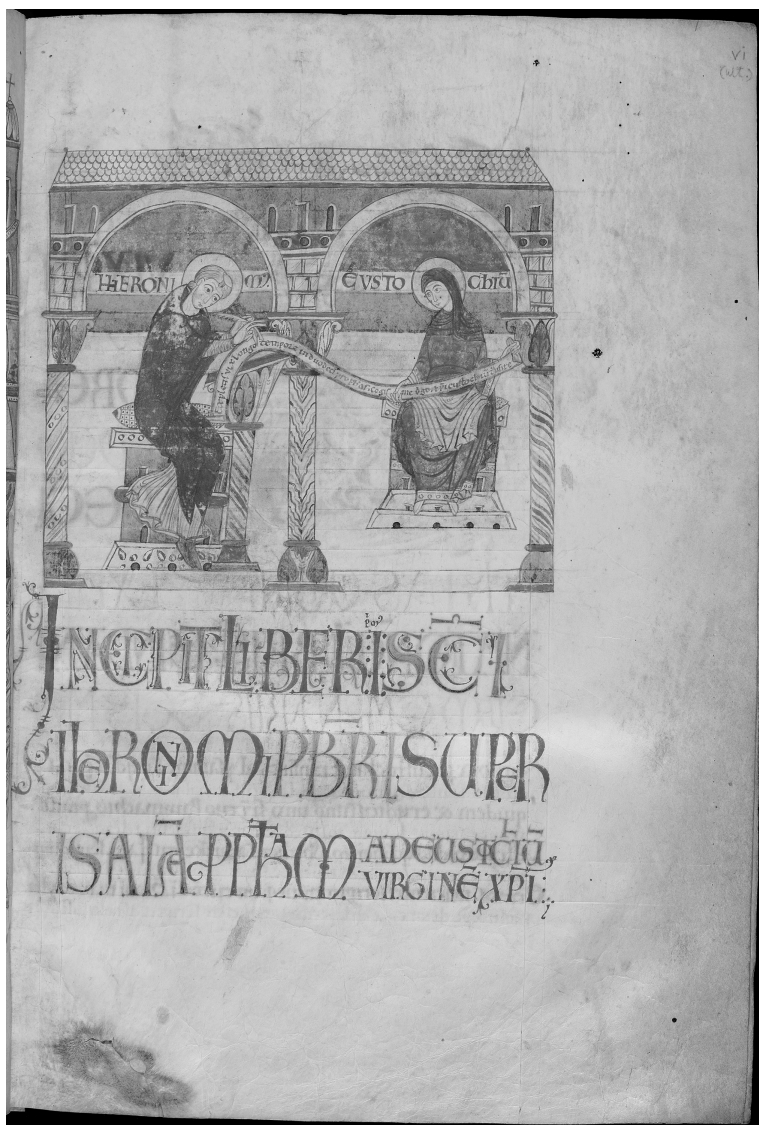


Figure 3.1 (cont.)

organic forms, but exist in books made by and for particular people at particular times and places. Whereas the greatest illuminated manuscripts of the Carolingian and Ottonian periods were produced under the patronage of emperors, or of the imperial bishops who were often their relatives, the greatest patrons of illuminated manuscripts in the twelfth century were the monastic houses. Luxury books were still produced in monasteries either for the emperor himself, such as the gospel book made either for Henry IV or for Henry V at the abbey of St Emmeram, Regensburg, between 1099 and 1111 (Cracow Cath. 208),¹ or for other rulers, such as the Gospels of Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony and Bavaria, produced ca. 1185–8 at the abbey of Helmarshausen and containing two complex dedication miniatures extolling Henry's power (Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibl. Guelf. 105 noviss. 2° and BSB Clm 30055).² But the main patrons of illuminated books in the twelfth century were the monasteries themselves, and the production was carried out within their walls. It was not only the old-established Benedictine houses which were involved in this activity; the houses of the reformed Orders also contributed. The new Premonstratensian houses, for instance, belonging to the Order founded at Prémontré in 1120 by Norbert of Xanten, played a particularly active part in the production of illuminated books – witness the Bible from the abbey of Floreffe (near Namur) of ca. 1160 (BL Add. 17737–8) (Figure 3.2).³ Monasteries sometimes produced illuminated books for others: the recipients could include dependent houses, such as Dover Priory (founded 1139), which probably received its Bible (CCCC 3–4) from its mother house, Christ Church Cathedral Priory, Canterbury.⁴ Books are portable, and the carrying of them from one house to another, whether in the possession of an itinerant owner or as gifts, must have been an important means for the transmission of stylistic innovation. Among the gifts to Durham Cathedral Priory donated by Bishop William of St-Calais (sometimes called Carilef) were books written and illuminated in Normandy, where William had spent time in exile between 1088 and 1091;⁵ and it was probably the 'Second Winchester' (or 'Auct.') Bible (Bodl. Libr. Auct. E. inf. 1–2) that was given by King Henry II of England to his new foundation, the Carthusian house at Witham, where Hugh (later bishop of Lincoln) was abbot.⁶ By contrast, there is comparatively little evidence for the production of illuminated manuscripts by or for the secular (non-monastic) clergy, and an illuminated book made for one of their number might still have been produced in a monastic context: the Lectionary of Archbishop Frederick of Cologne (Cologne, Dombibl. 59) probably originated in one of the monastic houses in the city.⁷ There is even less evidence

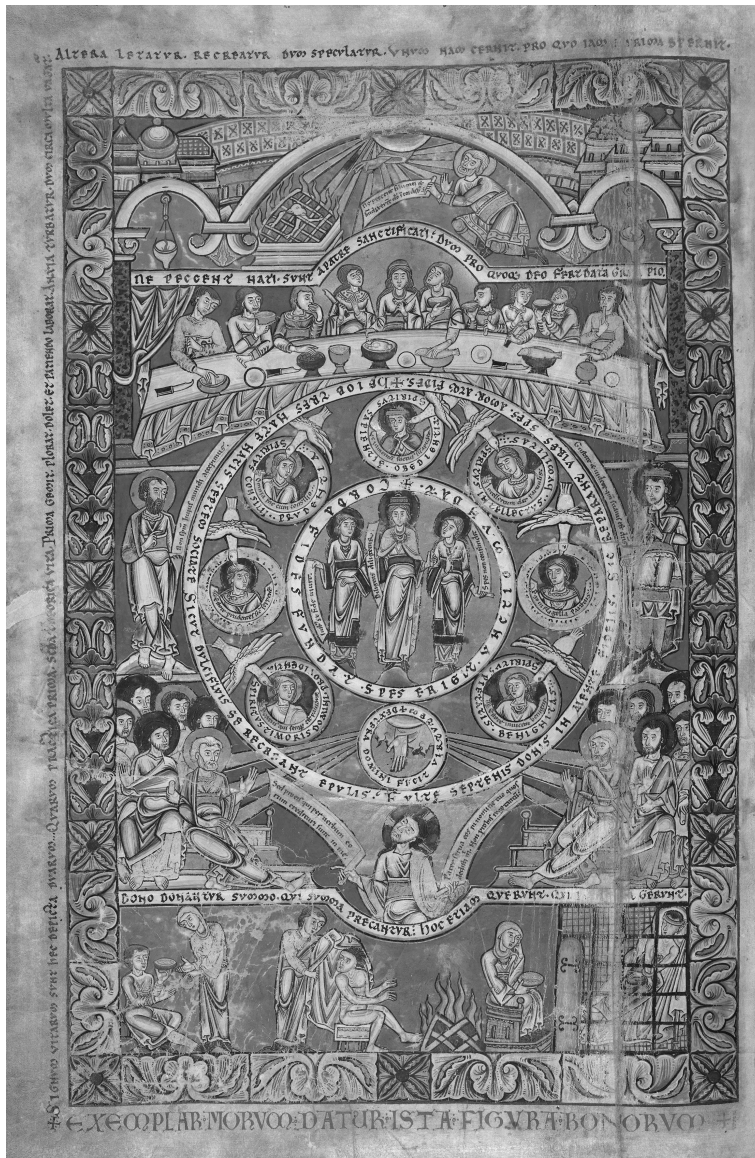


Figure 3.2 Frontispiece to volume 2 of the Floreffe Bible, showing scenes from the book of Job, virtues and works of mercy, and Christ and the Apostles, described by the tituli as a representation of the Active Life; valley of the Meuse (modern Belgium), ca. 1153–6. London, British Library, Add. 17738, f. 3v.

for the lay patronage of illuminated books; not until the thirteenth century were wealthy literate laity sufficiently numerous to form an important source of patronage.

Most artists in the twelfth century worked anonymously in the sense that they did not append their names to their works. The signatures of artists are rarer than those of scribes: the Rule of St Benedict enjoins humility on monastic craftsmen. This complicates the model of patronage commonly applied to art historical studies of later periods in European art. Instead of named individual artists and patrons, whose relationship is commercial but who may in some sense be regarded as co-creators of the works of art, we must imagine artists who were themselves members of a corporate body which was the patron: this makes it especially difficult to explore the creative balance between individual and institution. But a few artists do identify themselves, either verbally or visually, as monks. In the case of the sumptuous Gospels of Henry the Lion, one individual, Herimann, monk of Helmarshausen, seems to have been responsible for both the script and the illumination. Hugo 'pictor', whose work is found in manuscripts from more than one Norman house, painted and labelled a self-portrait at the end of a manuscript which was subsequently taken to Exeter Cathedral (Bodl. Libr. Bodl. 717) (Figure 3.1).⁸ The Premonstratensian canon Rufillus is one of several to have painted himself in the act of painting one of the initials in the book he illuminated (Cologny-Genève, Bibl. Bodmeriana 127, f. 244r).⁹ The production of illuminated manuscripts was always collaborative, and the circumstances of that collaboration were evidently various. The artist-priest Sintram, an Augustinian canon of Marbach, depicted himself in adoration of the Virgin Mary together with the scribe Guta, a nun of the convent at Schwarzenhann, in a manuscript dated 1154 (Strasbourg, Bibl. du Grand Séminaire 37, f. 4r).¹⁰

Although most illuminated books were made for monastic patrons, they were not necessarily illuminated by monks: there is evidence of lay professional artists working for (and sometimes in) monasteries. Studies of the illuminated manuscripts produced by individual religious houses have been made, and the word 'school' has even been applied to them in conformity with the model applied to Renaissance and later European art;¹¹ but the most outstanding (and thus best known) artistic productions from those houses have sometimes been found to accord least well with the house style identified in more modest productions. Whereas the skill of writing in this period was largely limited to those in clerical orders of varying sorts, the skill of painting could be acquired by a layman.¹² The lay

illuminator of the Dover Bible is another to have painted himself in the act of painting an initial, while his assistant prepares the colours (CCCC 4, f. 24IV). In several cases there is evidence for lay artists working in association with monastic scribes: the lay painter Felix depicted himself in an initial (albeit in separate roundels) with the scribe John, the one-eyed monk of Corbie (BnF lat. 11575, f. 11).¹³ The Bible from Bury St Edmunds of ca. 1135 (CCCC 2) was illuminated by a lay artist known as 'Master Hugo', who was also a sculptor and metalworker (Figure 3.3).¹⁴ Royal patronage had made Bury one of the richest foundations in the country, so it could also afford to attract the artist known by modern scholars as the Alexis Master, previously active at St Albans, to illustrate the Life of its patron saint (New York, Pierpont Morgan Libr. M. 736).¹⁵ Thus the style of a lay artist was not necessarily the property of a particular monastic house, and the mobility of professionals, no less than the mobility of books, must have contributed to the spreading of stylistic innovations. In the middle and second half of the twelfth century there is increasing evidence of itinerant artists. The master of the Lambeth Bible (London, Lambeth Palace 3 + Maidstone Museum P. 5) illuminated the Gospels of Abbot Wedric of Liessies in Hainault in 1146 (of which two leaves survive: Avesnes, Société Archéologique).¹⁶ A series of manuscripts with illumination in the 'Transitional' style of the last quarter of the century is associated with a group of artists who evidently worked on both sides of the Channel: the artist of the initials in the last volume of the Capucins Bible, produced perhaps in Troyes (BnF lat. 16743–6), had previously been employed at St Albans under Abbot Simon (1167–83).¹⁷ Nevertheless, from the twelfth century we have almost none of the apparatus associated with professional artists which survives from the thirteenth, such as contracts, property records, and verbal and visual instructions. Lay artists clearly participated in monastic production and may well have received boarding and lodging in a monastic house while active there, but there is little evidence for the establishment of independent lay professional workshops of the kind found in later centuries.

Styles and Techniques

Whether monastic or lay, artists (like those involved in other aspects of book production) must usually have learnt their craft by practical instruction. The technical manuals from this period include treatises by practising artists, extracts from earlier sources (sometimes with added original material), and isolated recipes or instructions. They vary in the extent of their usefulness,

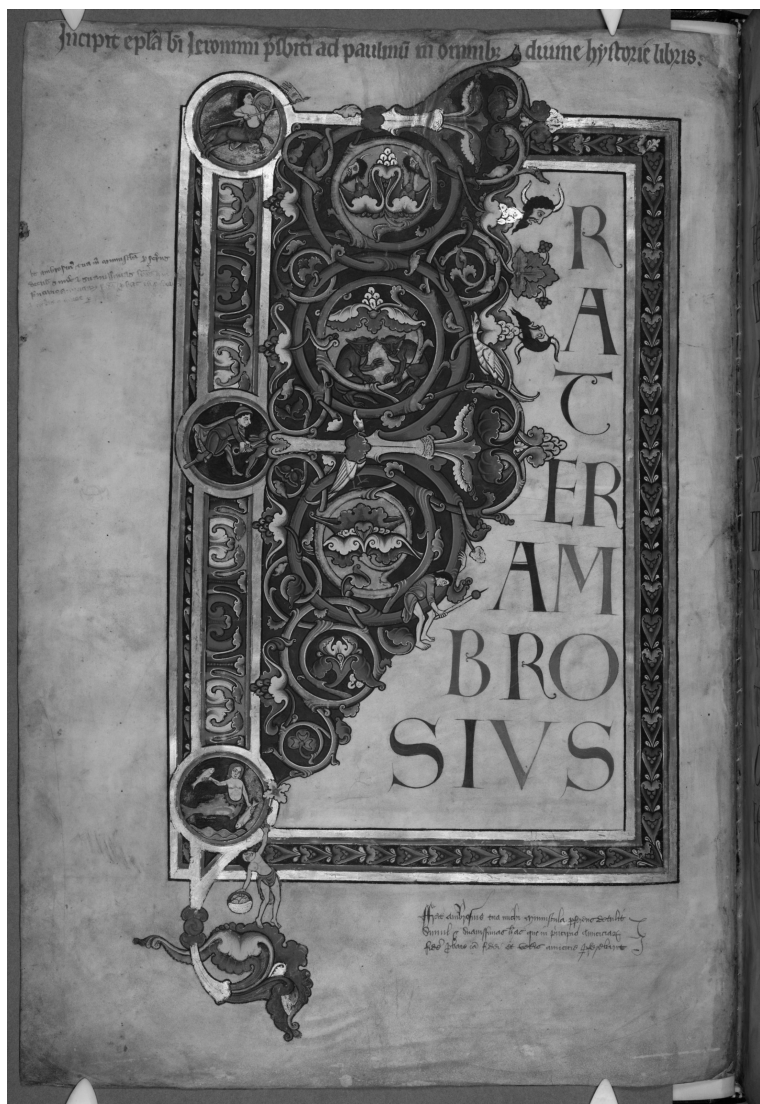


Figure 3.3 Initial F(rater Ambrosius), letter of Jerome to Paulinus, from the Bury Bible: England, ca. 1135. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 2, f. iv.

and seem never to have achieved a wide circulation.¹⁸ The evidence for techniques must derive mostly from the manuscripts themselves, occasionally supplemented by references in documentary sources.¹⁹ Illumination was a collaborative activity, carried out almost always before the book was bound. By leaving spaces to be filled, it was the scribe who decided (or at any rate whose work determined, on the instruction of others) the distribution of decoration and illustration. Preliminary drawings survive in hard point, (greyish) lead point or (brownish) crayon, sometimes gone over in ink, but there are few of the marginal instructions for subject-matter found in later manuscripts. Though drawings can be of high aesthetic quality, they were not usually regarded as finished works of art, though (as we shall see) they were considered suitable for certain kinds of subject-matter, and strong graphic traditions are evident in manuscripts from particular parts of Europe (Figure 3.4).²⁰ The Anglo-Saxon technique of tinted drawing makes a reappearance in a manuscript of Bede's *Life of St Cuthbert* (Oxford, University Coll. 165), produced at Durham Cathedral Priory in the early twelfth century and probably the earliest surviving manuscript containing a cycle of religious narrative illustrations to have been produced in England after the Norman Conquest.²¹ Unfinished manuscripts, and manuscripts in which a change of plan is identifiable, are a particularly valuable resource. In the Winchester Bible (Winchester Cath. 1) we have both.²² We can see that initials drawn by one set of artists were painted over and completed by subsequent artists, who respected the subject-matter but updated the style. Full-page miniatures were added to the book, which had originally been conceived as containing only initials. We can study the various stages of finish, observing for instance that if gold was involved, it was inserted onto the preliminary drawing before the application of other colours, perhaps because the act of burnishing threatened the surrounding area. Colour washes were overlaid with stronger or lighter tones to provide shadows and highlights before the final outlining of the contours of figures and drapery folds. In twelfth-century manuscripts the choice of colours is sometimes specified in instructional notes, words, or abbreviations situated within the margin or within the artistic space and designed to be covered.²³ This has been taken as evidence of a division of labour, though it is not impossible to imagine a scribe/artist writing notes to himself. The reliable analysis of pigments has been hampered by a reluctance to take samples, though the possibilities of identification by new imaging techniques such as Raman spectroscopy are just beginning to be realized.

The style in which artists worked in the twelfth century is often described as *romanesque*, a concept which has been subjected to scrutiny

in recent writing.²⁴ This is a term applied to all the arts. It is the internationalism of the arts which justifies the use of a single descriptive term; indeed, the romanesque style is often characterized as the first international style in Western Europe since the fall of the Roman Empire. Even with a manuscript from the middle of the eleventh century, it is often possible at a glance to distinguish the style of the illumination in national terms such as Ottonian or Anglo-Saxon. But by the middle of the twelfth century that sense of national identity is less emphatic, though stronger regional traditions persisted in France and Germany than in the politically more centralized kingdom of England (and many of the most important modern catalogues and studies of twelfth-century illuminated manuscripts are still arranged by country).²⁵ Some features considered characteristically romanesque, such as the stern figures relating to one another by intense stares and expressive rhetorical gestures, were descended from their Ottonian predecessors. Art historians have begun to explore the performative implications of gestures such as the raised and curving index finger, which has its roots in the classical *declamatio*.²⁶ But there are important differences between the Ottonian and romanesque aesthetic. Gone are the remnants of classical space, the pink and blue skies and clearly defined ground which had survived into the Ottonian period; they are mostly replaced by flat backgrounds of different coloured panels. The depiction of drapery – the discussion of which has traditionally occupied a central place in the study of romanesque art – delineates the individual body but at the same time forms a linear pattern which welds individual figures into a unified whole. The ordered balance and high seriousness of many of the figural compositions contrasts with the exuberant invention of the decoration, something to which we shall return.

The identification of a Byzantine element, of 'Byzantine influence', is also intrinsic to the characterization of romanesque. The new internationalism of romanesque art was partly a function of the respect for the ancient traditions of Constantinople (and admiration for its wealth) among the kingdoms of the West, fuelled by new contacts in the age of the Crusades and the Norman kingdom of Sicily.²⁷ Facial modelling with ochre or greenish shadows and white highlights was derived from Byzantium. The 'damp fold', the pear-shaped panel of drapery which delineates the body beneath, was a formula derived from Byzantine art which has been thought to give expression to new forms of self-confidence and self-consciousness. Art historians have identified two 'waves' of the concentration on Byzantine art, one early in the century and another distinct phase around 1170 in which the expressive characteristics of late Comnenian art make an

appearance. All this of course does not explain the means or routes by which such ideas travelled. Once a stylistic trait had been adopted in one Western centre, it presumably did not require further direct contact with Byzantium for it to be picked up in another. Italy has usually been seen as the main channel – Roman and south Italian painting in the early part of the century, Sicilian and Venetian mosaics in the later part. It is striking that two early model books or sheets show the copying of Byzantine models by Western artists: the early thirteenth-century model book at Wolfenbüttel (Herzog August Bibl. Guelf. 61. 2 Aug. 8^o) and the single leaf of ca. 1200 in Freiburg (Augustinermuseum, G 23/1a).²⁸ But Byzantine illuminated books were also portable – witness the Greek psalter from St Gereon, Cologne (ÖNB theol. gr. 336) – even if most literate people in the West would not have been able to read a Greek text.²⁹ While there was no ‘reform style’ as such, the abandonment of the Ottonian tradition, which was closely identified with Imperial patronage, and the adoption of a more Italianate style in the newly reformed monasteries, has been seen as the outcome of the sociocultural change brought about by the conflict between Empire and Papacy. The concept of influence, so prevalent in art historical writing, has been subjected in this generation to more rigorous analysis.³⁰ Often represented as an emanation from one work of art to a successor, influence should really be viewed from the other direction, as the choice of a successor or inheritor which makes them an active agent rather than a passive recipient. Thus Western artists, at the same time that they were choosing to adopt some of the stylistic principles and formulae of Byzantium, seem generally not to have chosen to adopt their compositions, and to have remained faithful to Western traditions in subject-matter. There was no Western equivalent of the Byzantine Painter’s Manual, which codified the representation of Christian subjects; attempts such as the Cistercian *Pictor in Carmine* of ca. 1200 never achieved widespread authority.³¹ In recent years the whole discussion of Byzantine influence has been recast. Following Hans Belting’s conception of the ‘history of the image before the age of art’, attention has been paid to the origins and transformation of the cult image in its passage from Byzantium to the West.³² The switch of attention from production to reception has enlarged the scope of enquiry. But the study of the transformation from Hellenistic panel painting to Byzantine icons and subsequently to the Western altarpiece has tended to diminish the attention paid to miniature painting, and a concentration on the cult image also fails to do justice to the range of imagery, especially narrative imagery, contained in books.

The renewed influence of Byzantine forms in the period from 1170 was accompanied, first of all in England and France, by a change in the depiction of drapery, in which the abstract patterns of the damp fold were replaced by cascading multiple folds. The use of intense single colours, such as vermilion or ultramarine, is now balanced by more subtle combinations of mauve, fawn, and grey. Smaller and neater figures accord with the reduced size of many books and the fine white outlines which are usually considered a feature of Gothic illumination make their first appearance. Towards the end of the century overt Byzantine modelling becomes less apparent in the calm classicizing spirit of the style sometimes referred to as 'Transitional' – a style which in fact differs as radically from romanesque abstraction as it does from the elegance of courtly Gothic.³³

Embellishing the Word

It was in the twelfth century that the decorative and illustrative potential of the initial was fully exploited. The practice of decorating initial letters had not been characteristic of the ancient world. The emergence of this manner of embellishing the word in the early Middle Ages has been linked both to the growth of textual reception through private reading rather than listening to a text read aloud and to the Christian emphasis on truth revealed through the written word of the gospels. Alexander has stressed the conflict inherent in the decoration of initials.³⁴ On the one hand, the legibility of script depends upon the repetition of clearly defined forms which carry a consistent significance: scribes were trained to write letters regularly and distinctly. On the other hand, the decorated initial thrives on ambiguity and variation: letters can become symbols, conveying the mystery of the Divine Word by their very complexity.³⁵

The most basic function of decorated initials, as of tituli, rubrics, and punctuation, was to structure a text, aiding memorization and cueing the process of recollection by means of which a reader engaged with a text.³⁶ To achieve this it was important to maintain a decorative hierarchy, so that the size and elaboration of the initial could act as a guide, communicating the position of major and minor textual divisions even before a word was read. The clarity of the decorative hierarchy, with the parts subjugated to the interests of the whole, together with the endless invention displayed by the romanesque decorated initial, can create an exquisite combination of function and ornament even in a modestly decorated book. The initials used to mark secondary textual divisions, or even primary divisions in less luxurious manuscripts, are sometimes called 'arabesque', following the

term proposed by Alexander.³⁷ They include foliage and tendrils but are inorganic and two-dimensional: they are the ancestors of Gothic *fleuronnée* initials. It has been suggested that the arabesque initial derived from the initials of ninth-century manuscripts from Tours. Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, despite the strong Carolingian influence on their script and decoration, did not develop this form: the main components of their decorated initials are interlace, and bird and animal forms. It is in Norman manuscripts of the first half of the eleventh century that we can observe the appearance of simple scrolls, which become more complex later in the century, and it was Norman influence which gave impetus to the development in England.

These arabesque initials are intimately connected with the script of the book. They appear in greatest profusion in the patristic volumes with which twelfth-century libraries were stocked. The scribe leaves a space for the initial to fill, whether that initial is executed by the same person or by someone else. Sometimes a guide letter is still visible in the margin or within the initial space. The fact that there seem to be fewer missing initials in twelfth-century manuscripts than in those from later centuries suggests that the initials were inserted within the monastic scriptorium as part of the main production process. Much of their liveliness stems from the colour contrasts, especially of red, green, blue, and violet, which often appear very similar to those of the accompanying display headings. Under-drawing is sometimes visible, but the final form of the initial does not always follow it. The distinction between what is done with the pen and what is done with the brush can be difficult to ascertain. House styles – that is, particular features observable in the arabesque initials of manuscripts from individual religious houses or orders – can in some cases be identified; but the limitless variety and inventive power of these initials produced for the most part by those living a communal religious life subject to a rule has been contrasted with the relative uniformity of later initials produced in commercial circumstances. Nevertheless there is some evidence of an effort on the part of the reformed monastic orders to extend their austerity into the area of book production, and specifically to restrain the exuberance of the initial. A Cistercian statute of 1131 forbade the illumination of initials in more than one colour: ‘litterae unius coloris fiant et non depictae’. This rule was not rigorously followed in all Cistercian houses, and even when they stuck to the letter of the rule, single-colour initials could still be very elaborate.³⁸

What does this interweaving of script and initials imply about the distinction between scribes and artists? Hugo ‘pictor’, the late eleventh-

century Norman monk already mentioned, refers to himself as an illuminator but depicts himself as a scribe. This may just reflect the strength of the tradition of the scribal portrait. But the self-portrait of the nun Guda (Frankfurt, Stadt- und Universitätsbibl. Barth. 42, f. 110v) is accompanied by the inscription: 'Guda peccatrix mulier scripsit quae pinxit hunc librum.'³⁹ The lay artist Hildebertus is depicted in one manuscript as an artist (Stockholm, Kungliga Bibl. A. 144, f. 34r) and in another (Prague, Metropolitan Libr. A. 21. 1, f. 153v) as a scribe in the act of throwing his sponge at a mouse which is eating his lunch, while his assistant Everwinus paints an arabesque initial.⁴⁰ The four principal twelfth-century scribes at Corbie, near Amiens – Nevelo, Ingelrannus (Enguerrand), John of Amiens the 'one-eyed', and Elias (Hélie) – are all recorded as having ruled, written, rubricated, and illuminated their manuscripts.⁴¹ In general it seems fair to assume that the closer the relation of script and decoration, the more likely they are to have been executed by the same hand. In the later Middle Ages, different individuals, who might be working at different times and in different places, specialized in the execution of script, rubrics, penwork initials, painted initials, borders, and miniatures.

Moving up the decorative hierarchy, the foliate forms of the twelfth-century painted initial are so ubiquitous that it becomes easy not to notice this incorporation of the natural world into the sign language of writing. The foliage of a twelfth-century initial is different from that of earlier examples. In Anglo-Saxon and Ottonian manuscripts, foliage stems were arranged in loose spirals with shoots growing in all directions, terminating in a turned-over trefoil or quatrefoil. From the beginning of the twelfth century, starting in England and the region of the Meuse, increasing emphasis was placed on individualized flowers. Typically the stem terminates in a small circle from which emerges a central petal surrounded by two smaller ones. Other petals or leaves and blossoms were added until flowers of this kind, usually placed in the centre of foliate spirals, became the dominant motif. In the second quarter of the century they develop into large, luxuriant plant formations which extend in all directions like a fleshy octopus. This type of decoration reached its maturity in England in the Bury Bible of ca. 1135,⁴² and became universal in Northern Europe in the third quarter of the century (Figure 3.3). Only Italy and to some extent southern France stand apart from this development. Art historians have struggled to explain, as opposed merely to describe, this vocabulary. Vine scrolls and other types of arboreal ornament have been interpreted as symbols of renewal and regeneration in the context of Church reform. One might see the taming of the natural world as a traditional function of ornament. The desire to

impose order on a chaotic universe is expressed in twelfth-century literature: the *Cosmographia* of Bernard Silvester opens with Nature's complaint of the state of chaos in the universe. Recently Weinryb has taken this idea further by focusing on the account of creation in Plato's *Timaeus*, in which the divine *artifex* creates the four elements not *ex nihilo* but out of primordial matter that was in a chaotic, amorphous state.⁴³ In the Latin translation of Calcidius, the Greek term *hyle* for the primordial matter was rendered as *substantia* in the text but as *silva* in the commentary. Thus the raw material of the foliate initial may be understood as the primordial matter of Creation, shaped by the human *artifex* into accordance with the Word of God.

The twelfth century also saw the introduction, enmeshed in such foliate scrolls, of animals and of clambering elongated human figures, often engaged in combat with dragons or hybrid monsters. Plant scrolls inhabited by birds or beasts had originally been a classical motif which reappeared in the margins and frames of manuscripts from the Carolingian period. The animals or hybrid creatures themselves could be derived from Near-Eastern textiles, or from astrological illustrations, calendar scenes, or bestiaries. Such inhabited scrolls were adapted to the decoration of initials already in the tenth century and more commonly in northern French manuscripts of the early eleventh century. What was new was the regular introduction of human figures into the foliage decoration. An early example appears in a manuscript from Mont-St-Michel, of the third quarter of the eleventh century (Avranches, Bibl. mun. 72, f. 151r), in which a man with an axe is attacking a lion within the body of an initial P,⁴⁴ and it is seen at its most inventive in the Giant Bible from Jumièges of the last quarter (Rouen, Bibl. mun. 8).⁴⁵ It was in England that this type of initial was to reach its peak, though there are examples from all over Northern Europe, especially Flanders, the Meuse, and the Rhineland. The distinction made by modern scholars between decorated and historiated initials is not always clear. Many of the initials which feature human figures do not seem to represent an identifiable narrative or history – hence the use of the additional term 'figured' or 'figurative'. Some of these initials may have been intended to represent the eternal struggle of human beings, trapped in a hostile world of sin, searching for salvation. Speaking of a different medium, that of stone carving, the Cistercian Bernard of Clairvaux, writing to William of St-Thierry in ca. 1125–6, castigated the distraction caused by hybrid creatures from the claustral concentration of the religious life.⁴⁶ His rhetorical question, 'What signifies these ridiculous monsters?', suggests that to a contemporary eye they lacked symbolic meaning – though the alignment of dragons with the Devil is a feature of Christian writing from biblical

times, and the fact that Bernard was exercised to condemn the capitals which tempted monks to read in the marble may be taken as proof that there were some who did precisely that. Monks, who were used to reading long expositions of biblical texts, meditating on the implications of the text and using it as a stimulus for prayer, might surely have searched enigmatic images in their books for spiritual edification.⁴⁷

From about 1170 a new form of decorated initial developed in France and England. There was clearly a growing taste for minuteness of form. The foliage becomes thinner and more stringy, the spirals more regularly and tightly wound, the ground now usually of burnished gold. Many of the old floral forms have been retained, including the 'octopus' flower, but they have generally become smaller and are often surrounded by groups of white dots. The principal animal presence now consists of small white lions which inhabit the scrolls in profusion. The initial itself is placed on a framing panel, usually of blue, red, or gold, often itself decorated with small circles or dots. Such initials, neater and more refined but perhaps less vigorous and inventive than their predecessors, feature in the glossed biblical books commercially produced in considerable numbers in Paris and exported throughout Europe.⁴⁸

Illustrating the Text

In surveying the illustration of texts in the twelfth century, we encounter on the one hand persistent traditions, and on the other an expansion and enrichment in arrangement and subject-matter. Though the detailed study of iconographical prototypes – tracing the descent of individual motifs and of whole compositions – is no longer considered sufficient explanation of the meaning of each new pictorial event, this is nevertheless an art with strong patterns of expectation, in which context the invention of new forms, or even small departures from tradition, may be deliberate and meaningful.⁴⁹ In recent years the emphasis has shifted from the study of iconography as a self-contained system to its role in the rhetoric and theology of images.⁵⁰ In fact iconography has proved a resilient concept and has begun to be applied to new fields such as colour.⁵¹ Heslop has pointed to the establishment of a visual vocabulary of class stereotypes, based on classical paradigms, in English manuscripts.⁵²

To begin with the book greatest in authority (and also in size): the twelfth century saw the production of magnificently illustrated monastic Giant Bibles, reviving a Carolingian tradition.⁵³ These lectern books, often in two volumes, were read in both church and in refectory, and must have

been impressive symbols of the status of the communities which possessed them. They may have originated in Italy, but very soon they were also being produced in the valleys of the Meuse and the Rhine. The one surviving volume of the Lobbes Bible of 1084 (Tournai, Bibl. du Séminaire 1) is perhaps the first to feature a full set of historiated initials, in many cases excerpted from larger cycles such as that of the Carolingian bible in S. Paolo fuori le Mura, Rome, but simplified, compressed, and ingeniously fitted into the confines of the letters.⁵⁴ Many of these scenes, such as King David and the Amalekite for II Samuel, are subsequently found in bibles throughout the twelfth century. From about the 1130s, these Giant Bibles are found all over Europe, with several of the most outstanding examples produced in England. Some or all of the biblical books were provided with a miniature or a historiated initial, whose subject was designed to summarize the content of the book (such as the Crossing of the Red Sea for Exodus) but was often drawn from the events occurring near its beginning. Certain Old Testament scenes, such as the Ascension of Elijah for II Kings, were chosen for their typological significance as a prefiguration of the New. Some manuscripts also have a full-page frontispiece to some of the biblical books. As in the case of the Tree of Jesse illustration for the Book of Isaiah in the Lambeth Bible (f. 198r), these frontispieces can go beyond the illustration of the biblical narrative to become vehicles of complex typological or theological doctrines. Likewise the miniatures of the Floreffe Bible encapsulate complex biblical exegesis and are closely related to the pictorial diagrams of contemporary Mosan metalwork (Figure 3.2).⁵⁵

But in England especially, the book which most commonly received extensive illustration was not the whole Bible but the Psalter. Recited both by monks and by the laity, the Psalms were the prime devotional texts of the earlier Middle Ages. The text of the Psalms is often preceded by a liturgical calendar which can contain pictorial cycles of the occupations of the months and the signs of the zodiac, either within the KL monogram itself (for the Latin *kalends*), which stands at the head of each month, or in separate roundels. The monastic text of the Psalter was divided first into eight sections, marking the beginnings of the parts to be read at matins each day and at vespers on Sunday: that is, at Psalms 1, 26, 38, 52, 68, 80, 97, and 109 (Vulgate numbering). At the same time the threefold formal division at Psalms 1, 51, and 101, which had Insular origins, was also retained, the two systems combining to make a tenfold division. These divisions were marked by large decorated or historiated initials. A consistent choice of subjects begins to appear in the initials of some

twelfth-century psalters, but it is not until the following century that a regular series becomes standard. The subjects themselves are usually not literal illustrations of the text, but were suggested either by the Psalm's *titulus* or by its opening verse. The small group of manuscripts containing a literal illustration to every Psalm was directly inspired by the presence at Canterbury of an extraordinary exemplar, the Carolingian Utrecht Psalter (Utrecht, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit 32).⁵⁶ The initials in the St Albans Psalter (Hildesheim, Dombibl. St. Godehard 1) are exceptional in responding to the allegorical, tropological, and eschatological exegesis of the Psalms.⁵⁷ Several psalters also have a cycle of full-page miniatures prefacing the text. This practice had begun in eleventh-century England, but only became common in the twelfth. As well as narrative subjects drawn from the Old and New Testaments, especially from the life of Christ, these cycles sometimes also include images of the Tree of Jesse, King David, the Virgin and Child, and Christ in Majesty. The scenes do not illustrate the text of the Psalms directly, but can be related to the Christian typological reading of the Psalms as messianic prophecies with King David, their presumed author, as the precursor and ancestor of Christ. Thus in England it was the Psalter, not the complete Bible, which carried the largest cycles of New Testament scenes. This is less universally true on the Continent, though there are examples such as the early thirteenth-century Psalter of the Landgrave Hermann of Thuringia (Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibl., HB II 24).⁵⁸

In gospel books, each gospel may begin with an Evangelist portrait and a large decorated initial; decorated canon tables preceding the biblical text are found only occasionally after 1100. Only very rarely, as in the exceptional typological scheme of the Gospels of Henry the Lion, were gospel books furnished with extensive picture cycles. Gospel lectionaries containing the passages to be sung at Mass through the liturgical year occasionally contain New Testament miniatures. The tradition of illustrating the Commentary on the Apocalypse by Beatus of Liébana was peculiar to Spain, where the gradual assimilation of romanesque style to Mozarabic forms may be traced in a series beginning with the manuscript from Santo Domingo de Silos of the late eleventh century (BL Add. 1695).⁵⁹ Among liturgical books, only the Mass books (sacramentaries and missals) were regularly illustrated, usually with a large miniature of the Crucifixion before the Canon of the Mass; but the abbey of St Michael at Hildesheim produced two outstanding missals with complex typological schemes, the Ratmann Missal of 1159 (Hildesheim, Dom-Museum DS 37)

and the Stammheim Missal of the 1170s (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum 64).⁶⁰ At the same time we can observe, sometimes in a female context, the beginning of the illustration of Office books such as the breviary.⁶¹ Few illustrated manuscripts announce the manner of their use as clearly as the Exultet Roll. These large-format manuscripts from southern Italy contain the prayer for the blessing of the Paschal candle sung by the deacon on Holy Saturday. Uniquely, its illustrations face the opposite way to the text so that it could be unrolled over a lectern and hang down with its pictures to be seen the right way up by the congregation. As well as religious and liturgical scenes such as the Crucifixion and the Passage of the Red Sea, these rolls contain a representation of bees and a beehive in honour of the providers of the wax for the candle.⁶²

The handsome copies of the biblical commentaries and other works of the Church Fathers, with which monastic and cathedral libraries were stocked, generally contain only decorated initials. Illustrative traditions were established only for one or two patristic works, such as the *Moralia in Job* of Gregory the Great and the *De civitate Dei* of Augustine. Similarly, the works of medieval theologians and commentators on Scripture, if illustrated at all, usually attracted only an author portrait and one or two historiated initials. The *Prayers and Meditations* of Anselm of Bec and Canterbury provides a rare example of such a text attracting an extensive scheme of illustration.⁶³ Copies of the text had been sent to Anselm's monastic and lay friends during his lifetime, but it is uncertain whether these early copies already contained pictures. From about 1070, all over Europe, illustrated saints' Lives were produced by communities which thus proclaimed the virtuous lives, miracle-working powers, and continuing protection of their patrons; they had seldom been illustrated before.⁶⁴ The picture cycles of these manuscripts are closely related, just as the authors of their texts sought to bring the lives of their subjects into conformity with the pattern set by Christ. These manuscripts are all dedicated to single saints or to a small group of related ones. By contrast some passionals, which contain shorter saints' Lives arranged in the order of the liturgical year, contain a historiated initial depicting each saint, or even an episode from the saint's life.⁶⁵ In canon law a tradition of illustrating Gratian's *Decretum* spread from Bologna to Paris.⁶⁶

Perhaps no text composed in the twelfth century can rightly be described as secular. The illustrated twelfth-century encyclopaedias, for example, the *Liber Floridus* written by Lambert, canon of St-Omer (Ghent, Universiteitsbibl. 92), and the *Hortus Deliciarum* of Herrad of Hohenbourg in Alsace (destroyed in 1870, but partially

reconstructable), attempt to assimilate all aspects of monastic learning into a Christian world picture.⁶⁷ Monastic chronicles and world histories are most often illustrated (if at all) by ruler portraits, sometimes in genealogical trees to underline the importance of dynastic pedigree. The *History of the Two Cities* by Otto of Freising (Jena, Universitätsbibl. Bos. 9. 6) and the *Liber ad honorem Augusti* by Peter of Eboli, celebrating the conquest of Sicily by the Emperor Henry VI (Bern, Burgerbibl. 120), are rare examples at this period of the invention of narrative cycles of illustration for historical texts.⁶⁸ But most illustrated twelfth-century secular manuscripts contain texts which had their origins in the classical world, either as Latin works or as late antique Latin translations of Greek works. Sometimes continuities between antique and medieval picture cycles can be identified, though the pictorial tradition in most cases seems to extend only as far back as the fourth or fifth century CE. In such instances the pictures in the twelfth-century manuscripts usually seem to have been adapted not directly from late antique exemplars, but from Carolingian or Anglo-Saxon intermediaries. Of literary, historical, and philosophical works, only the comedies of Terence and the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius were regularly provided with cycles of pictures. The battle of virtues and vices, composed by Prudentius in the fifth century CE, depicts allegorical figures of classical origin, but the text is Christian.⁶⁹ The illustrated Terence manuscripts, with their scene-by-scene illustrations reflecting the masks and even perhaps the gestures of the Roman stage, represent the end of a monastic antiquarian tradition – though the original sketchy three-dimensionality has been replaced in the twelfth-century manuscript probably produced at St Albans (Bodl. Libr. Auct. F. 2. 13) by the firm outlines and stylized draperies of romanesque art.⁷⁰ In later centuries the illustrations are clothed in knightly Gothic garb to cater to the tastes of a secular readership. The classics are present even in the vernacular: one of the few examples of a romanesque cycle of illustrations to a vernacular text is the early thirteenth-century manuscript from Regensburg of the Middle High German version of the *Aeneid* by Heinrich von Veldeke (Berlin, Staatsbibl. germ. fol. 282).⁷¹

The other illustrated 'secular' texts are mostly technical and scientific, including herbals, bestiaries, and treatises on astronomy and astrology. Of these, the bestiary (the popularity of which was to reach its height only in the thirteenth century) had travelled furthest from its late antique roots; the animal lore in its text was by now almost entirely in the service of Christian moralizing themes, and the picture cycles are medieval in inspiration.⁷² The main purpose of the herbal was to identify plants and

to describe their medicinal properties; illustrations were integral to the identifications, though in most cases artists did little more than copy the conventionalized pictures they found in their exemplars.⁷³ Illustrations accompanying medical tracts, such as drawings of cautery figures, were also traditional.⁷⁴ The illustrations were designed to show the points on the body where the cautery iron should be applied to cure specific ills; the purpose was to readjust the imbalance of bodily humours, not merely to prevent the spread of infection. The occasional representation of operations for the removal of cataracts and nasal polyps, found in conjunction with the herbal, are not, however, detailed enough to have been of any practical application. The monastic study of the natural sciences is attested by the survival of illustrated astronomical manuscripts. The texts, mostly based on Cicero's verse version of the Greek of Aratus with later accretions, were illustrated by pictures of the planets, constellations, and signs of the zodiac. The twelfth-century versions were derived from Carolingian models which themselves were based on late antique exemplars. By these means images of classical gods and mythological figures entered the consciousness of the medieval monastery. In one instance (Bodl. Libr. Bodl. 614) illustrated astronomical and astrological texts are found in conjunction with the illustrated *Marvels of the East*, descriptions of natural wonders and monstrous races going back ultimately to ancient Greek descriptions of the fabulous peoples of India.⁷⁵

The twelfth-century love of classification found its pictorial expression in diagrams illustrating books of natural science, the texts of which were often excerpted from the works of earlier medieval authors such as Isidore of Seville and Bede.⁷⁶ The balanced and elegant construction of these figures could be used to depict the harmonious relations between microcosm and macrocosm in the constitution of the universe according to Christian cosmology: the four seasons, elements, humours, and ages of man, for instance, or the seven planets, sacraments, and liberal arts.⁷⁷ Such diagrams, often in ink outline, drew on the formulations of twelfth-century texts such as the *Cosmographia* of Bernard Silvester and the *Elucidarium* of Honorius Augustodunensis: they combine the biblical idea that God created man in His own image with the ancient teaching (found in Plato's *Timaeus*) that mankind consists of the same elements as the material world. Some of the monastic houses of southern Germany, such as Hirsau and Zwiefalten in Swabia or Prüfening and Regensburg in Bavaria, specialized in the production of such drawings (Figure 3.4).⁷⁸ The diagrams were designed to impress the relations between different parts of a subject on the memory of the reader. Indeed, the organization of space in many romanesque illustrations

may reflect the same purpose, with geometric or architectural forms providing a grid within which images, often identified by inscriptions, are grouped hierarchically around a central motif or figure. Nordenfalk's classic definition of romanesque style contrasted the miniature of the ascension of St Amand in the first illustrated Life of the saint of ca. 1070–80 (Valenciennes, Bibl. mun. 502), still essentially Carolingian in character, with the same scene in the Life of the mid twelfth century (Valenciennes, Bibl. mun. 501), now characterized by strict symmetry, frontality, and a compartmentalized layout.⁷⁹ Caviness has explored the way in which such governing principles created a visual syntax for the representation of divine order in romanesque art more widely.⁸⁰ Thus the word 'illustration' does not begin to do justice to the variety of relationships we can observe between the texts and images which were juxtaposed with each other in the twelfth century.

Notes

1. Mutherich and Dachs 1987, no. 26.
2. Kötzsche 1989.
3. Cahn 1982, cat. no. 46.
4. Ibid., cat. no. 28.
5. Mynors, *Durham*, 32–45.
6. Oakeshott 1981.
7. Dodwell 1993, 278–9 and pl. 276.
8. Gameson 2001.
9. Gullick 2006.
10. Alexander 1992, figure 28.
11. For example, Dodwell 1993.
12. Clanchy 1993, esp. 224–52.
13. Alexander 1992, figure 17.
14. Thomson, *The Bury Bible*.
15. Kauffmann 1975, no. 34.
16. Riedmaier 1994; Shepard 2007.
17. Cahn 1996, no. 79.
18. Clarke 2001.
19. Alexander 1992; Barral i Altet 1986–90; De Hamel 1992.
20. Evans 1969; Holcomb 2009.
21. Lawrence-Mathers 2003, 89–108.
22. Oakeshott 1981.
23. Petzold 1990.
24. Hourihane 2008.

25. Kauffmann 1975 (England); Cahn 1996 (France); Klemm 1980–8 and Butz/von Borries-Schulten 1987 (Germany); Murano and Saggese 2005. *Fingernagel* 2007 includes a series of essays arranged by country.
26. Camille 1985.
27. Demus 1970.
28. Buchthal 1979; Scheller 1995.
29. Legner 1985, vol. 2, cat. E 41.
30. Lowden and Bovey 2007.
31. Wirth 2006.
32. Belting 1994.
33. Hoffmann 1970.
34. Alexander 1978, 87.
35. Hamburger 2014.
36. Carruthers 2008.
37. Alexander 1978.
38. Glorieux-De Gand 1990; Lawrence 1995; Reinecke, Reinecke and Tivig 1998.
39. Smith 1997, figure 6.
40. Alexander 1992, figs. 18–9.
41. De Mérindol 1976, I. 431–45.
42. Thomson, *The Bury Bible*.
43. Weinryb 2013.
44. Alexander, *Mont St Michel*, pl. 12a.
45. Cahn 1982, cat. no. 106.
46. Rudolph 1990.
47. Heslop 1986.
48. De Hamel, *Glossed Books*, esp. ch. 4.
49. Cassidy 1993.
50. Hamburger and Bouché 2006.
51. Petzold 1999.
52. Heslop 1990.
53. Cahn 1982; Kauffmann 2003, 73–104.
54. Cahn 1982, cat. no. 48.
55. *Ibid.*, cat. no. 46.
56. Van der Horst, Noel, and Wüstefeld 1996; *Eadwine*.
57. Bepler, Kidd, and Geddes 2008; Pächt, Dodwell, and Wormald 1960.
58. Heinzer 1992.
59. Williams 2002–3.
60. Teviotdale 2001.
61. Seeberg 2002.
62. Cavallo 1973.
63. Pächt 1956.
64. Abou-El-Haj 1994; Hahn 2001.
65. Michon 1990.
66. Melnikas 1975.
67. Derolez 1968; Green et al. 1979.

68. Kölzer and Stähli 1994.
69. Katzenellenbogen 1939; Norman 1988; Stettiner 1895–1905.
70. Jones, Webber, and Morey 1931.
71. Henkel and Fingernagel 1992.
72. Clark 2006.
73. Collins 2000.
74. MacKinney 1965.
75. James 1929.
76. Murdoch 1984.
77. Saxl 1957.
78. Boeckler 1924; Mütherich and Dachs 1987.
79. Grabar and Nordenfalk 1958, 182–9.
80. Caviness 1983.

CHAPTER 4

Scribes and Scriptoria

Rodney Thomson

This chapter focuses on a single broad, general question: what, if anything, is new, characteristic and significant about the activities and organization of scribes and scriptoria across Western Europe in the Long Twelfth Century? I believe that there *was* something characteristic and significant about these things, and that it can be described under three heads: first, there was a sizeable increase in the numbers of both scribes and scriptoria; secondly, there was a high average level in the quality of scribal work; and finally, there was a gradual movement from local and regional variety of scripts towards international uniformity, in other words the emergence of what we call Gothic, the first pan-European script.

Scribes

But first of all, in keeping with the aims of this project, we need a working definition of 'scribe'. That definition has to encompass more than just 'anyone who could write'. In the first place, we need to consider those persons who wrote in books, not, or not just, documents. In parentheses and speaking very broadly, at the beginning of our period the same persons usually wrote both, and in the same sort of script; by the end, due to the huge proliferation in the creation of administrative documents in both Church and State, both personnel and script-type had sundered. Secondly, it is appropriate to focus on those persons who wrote substantial amounts of text and in more than one book, in other words, persons who were, at least to some extent, dedicated copyists, active over a stretch of time. And finally we need to focus on those who were trained to write well and who sustained the standard and style they were taught through reasonably constant practice. At first sight one might think that these criteria are too restrictive, allowing us to discuss only a small minority or elite among the copyists of the day. But this is not so. After taking these criteria into

account we are still able to talk about the sort of copyists who are most heavily represented in the surviving books. The point can be made by observing the differing levels of competence revealed in the writing found in surviving mortuary rolls, for instance the most famous of them all, that of Vitalis, abbot of Savigny (d. 1122), with its *tituli* from more than 200 houses in France and England.¹ Among these entries we find hands that exemplify the 'house style' recognizable from books produced in the local scriptoria, but we also find hands that do not, and that can only be described as unpractised or even uncalledigraphic.² It is possible to find 'bad' hands in books of the period, but they are relatively scarce.³

Numbers and Locations: As is well known, a, perhaps the, primary motor for much of the creativity within the period was religious reform, defined in terms of a particular interpretation of the monastic ideal. The revival of traditional Benedictine monasticism and the appearance of new religious Orders led to a considerable increase in the total monastic population of Western Europe, and in the number and size of individual religious communities.⁴ This increase in population and communities was accompanied by a concomitant increase in the production of books, as new libraries had to be stocked, and old ones enlarged and refurbished. Secular cathedrals are not centre stage in this process because they were not nearly so numerous, and few were new foundations. Most scribes were monks (or regular canons), and therefore worked within and for their local communities. It follows that the number of scribes, which perhaps peaked around mid-century, bears an almost direct relationship to the number of new, enlarged and reformed convents. A baseline figure would be one scribe per community, but this is almost certainly too low. On the one hand, it would allow for the fact that small communities, especially cells of larger ones, might not make their own books at all but commission them from the mother house or from a community that was nearby and wealthy. On the other hand, we know of large houses where a dozen or so scribes were active over half a century or more, so maybe a multiplier of two or three might be thought more reasonable. About the considerable number of new female convents, we are mostly very poorly informed. It used to be assumed that their libraries were small and that nuns did little (non-liturgical) reading or copying; however, recent work has revealed a substantial amount of book-making at some convents,⁵ so perhaps the multiplier for female scribes should be about the same as for males. In parenthesis, we should note that neither secular authorities (emperor, kings, magnates) nor the papacy play a significant role in this story.

It seems to me one of the puzzles of the twelfth century, little commented on, that emperors and kings in particular failed to emulate their Carolingian, Anglo-Saxon and Ottonian forebears by maintaining a court library or commissioning great liturgical books.⁶ In sum, by the third quarter of the century there were probably several thousand scribes operating contemporaneously across Western Europe.

Levels of Professionalism: One of the reasons for the high average level of proficiency among twelfth-century scribes was presumably the monastic ethos: writing was sometimes explicitly described and prescribed as a spiritual exercise;⁷ books were to be carefully written because they were the bearers of texts conveying eternal truths. A particularly poignant example is the prefatory miniature in a copy of Isidore's *Etymologiae* expertly written, shortly before 1165, by the monk Swicher for his house of Prüfening (near Regensburg). It shows the dead Swicher's successful entry into Heaven after his book has been weighed in a scales in the presence of Christ – a result helped by the fact that his book is depicted in a heavy treasure binding.⁸ Such a high level of proficiency implies difficulty in distinguishing the well-trained monastic scribe from the paid (and doubtless also trained) professional, and indeed the relative numbers are impossible to calculate.⁹ Some scribes who wrote monastic books *were* fully professional, making a living from their work, often itinerant and prepared to cross oceans and borders. For example, the writing (and artwork) of Eadwine, monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, can hardly be judged inferior to that of the younger Manerius, the son of a Canterbury mercer who was not a monk and made a living as a scribe and an artist on both sides of the Channel.¹⁰ The scribes 'sought from afar' by Abbot Paul of St Albans (d. 1093) to copy fine liturgical books were clearly not monks, and would have been paid for their work.¹¹ Such scribes might be used to supplement the labours of members of the house, as they were at Abingdon under Abbot Faricius (d. 1117).¹² The *Liber ordinis* of the Augustinian canons of St-Victor in Paris includes instructions for the operations of the scriptorium, including the hiring of paid scribes from without. The brothers who were active in writing could be excused by the abbot from participation in the Divine Office.¹³

During the second half of the century, as is well known, the balance, as far as we can perceive it, begins to change. For the first time, the phrase 'book trade' can be used, and when used of this period is focused on Paris.¹⁴ Through the rest of our period the balance continued to tilt in favour of lay scribes and stationers working in the larger towns, especially

those associated with universities. In the earliest stages of this process the professional usually only shows up, if at all, when writing for an institution, but towards the end of our period we can find ourselves a long way from the cloister or the monastic ethos. Consider the professional scribe Raulinus of Fremington, an Englishman who worked in Paris and Bologna. The astonishingly frank and quite improper monologues which he inserted, unsignalled, into a great bible that he copied led to him being described by M. A. and R. H. Rouse, in their entertaining study of him, as 'lustful, coarse, and self-absorbed'.¹⁵ One such passage, inserted after the prologue to Proverbs, will serve for all: 'O you whore Meldina, you have always deceived me. When my purse feels full, you embrace me and kiss me. But when it lies empty, then there is neither a kind look nor love. In you there never was, is, nor shall be loyalty or truthfulness.'

Status: What level of society did *professional* scribes occupy, and what measure of esteem did *all* scribes enjoy? Can anything be inferred about this from the notorious anonymity of most of them? Was it an instance of monastic humility? Does it signify that neither they nor others thought their highly skilled work valuable? Probably the general anonymity means none of these things. We do not know the names of most monks in any given community in our period; we do not know the names of most artists, even major ones. In fact, instances of praise and appreciation for scribes, and even some instances of self-esteem, are comparatively numerous: one might think, for example, of the inscription accompanying the famous self-portrait in the Eadwine Psalter, astonishing if it is indeed autograph: 'Eadwine princeps scriptorum ego'.¹⁶ The historian Orderic Vitalis, writing ca. 1114/15, describes a certain William, oblate of the Norman house of St-Évroult, as 'a distinguished scribe and illuminator of books. The works executed by his own hands for reading and singing are still models which encourage us to put away idleness and follow his example.'¹⁷ The house chronicle of St Albans Abbey talks of Abbot Paul seeking from afar 'electissimos scriptores' ('the choicest scribes').¹⁸ Among the scribes of the books written at Mont-St-Michel in the course of the eleventh century are no fewer than fifteen who name themselves in their colophons.¹⁹ Even more remarkable are the sixteen surviving books made at and for the Augustinian canonry of Cirencester (founded in 1131), in the second and third quarters of the twelfth century, bearing contemporary inscriptions naming the canon scribes, and the man who was abbot at the time of writing.²⁰ Most striking of all, moving even, is the repeated praise, both contemporary and over several successive centuries, by the monks and nuns

of the Benedictine double house of Wessobrunn, seventy-seven kilometres south-west of Munich, for Diemut, the *inclusa* who made so many books for the house in the first half of the twelfth century; I say more of her in what follows. She is named and the books she wrote listed, in two in-house booklists, one made not long after her death, the other ca. 1200. Her memory was revived again, each time with growing veneration, in the thirteenth, fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, by which time she had attained the status of a local saint.²¹ A different kind of evidence is provided by the well-known pen-drawing of (and presumably by) the professional scribe Hildebert. I do not think it has been observed how well dressed he is, suggesting a man of wealth and rank, certainly not any kind of artisan.²²

Training: Most scribes represented in surviving manuscripts had been trained, but we know little about the training unless it was in-house. Young persons might be trained to write within the context of a school, usually attached to a religious community, and might go on either to enter the house or to make a career as a lay professional. Most of what we see today is the near-finished or finished product, by scribes already well trained, in complete books. A very precise, detailed and illuminating study of this is Aliza Cohen-Mushlin's on the scriptorium of Frankenthal, an Augustinian house near Worms in the Rhineland, founded in 1119. A new house such as this one had to build a library from nothing, so a special effort was called for. From Frankenthal survive twenty-six twelfth-century manuscripts made locally, the work of more than sixty scribes active between ca. 1145 and 1200. These were obviously (in some cases demonstrably) canons, and must have constituted most of the population of the house over that period. At any one time within these dates it seems as though between three and fourteen scribes were working simultaneously, that is, collaborating on the same book or group of books. The Worms-Frankenthal Bible, made in 1148, was worked on by eleven men: four of them wrote the text and delineated the initials; another seven coloured them in, but these colourists were apparently itinerant professionals, probably from Cologne; the more modest decoration in the other manuscripts was made locally. Cohen-Mushlin was able to distinguish between teachers and pupils among the scribes, and between different specializations; for example, some scribes wrote most of the text, others did only correction and rubrication. Care was taken to achieve a high level of uniformity, the senior scribes writing *exempla*, passages of script at the beginning of a text or subsection, which the younger scribes were to imitate. There is also evidence of scribes being selected for further work

and training by being made to write short passages of text as samples. The same sort of learning on the job can be glimpsed at an earlier date, at the Benedictine house of Mont-St-Michel, where passages in one of its books, now Avranches, Bibl. mun. 128, 'look as if they were written a page or two at a time for practice by different scribes'.²³

Scribal Literacy: There is some evidence that twelfth-century scribes were generally literate, or at any rate more so than many of their Merovingian and Carolingian counterparts. This perhaps follows naturally from the fact that so many of them were monks, nuns and regular canons, generally taught to read, and also needing to read text that made sense. The evidence flows, then, from the accuracy of the texts they produced, beginning with correct word separation, which makes an eye-catching contrast with many books written in the Carolingian era. Another indication is the prevalence of correction, often carried out by means of a close reading of the text, perhaps against the exemplar, by the scribe or another person, who would enter copy in the margin for insertion into the main text. Finally, there is the evidence of the errors themselves. Every scribe in any era makes mistakes, but the range of possible errors committed by literate scribes is quite different from that made by scribes who are either illiterate or at least copying mechanically. It is also the case that scribes sometimes corrected text that was demonstrably wrong or not clearly legible in the exemplar.²⁴ This evidence, that twelfth-century scribes generally understood the text they were copying, seems to apply to both males and females.²⁵

Working Practices: Before copying could begin on the prepared parchment, an exemplar to copy from had to be provided. How this was done can only be demonstrated anecdotally, but it appears that there was no set pattern. A scribe might be sent to the place where the exemplar was held and the copying done there. A scribe *where* the exemplar was held might be engaged to do the work.²⁶ Or an exemplar might be borrowed by the community wanting to copy it. There are even cases in which an exemplar, of unknown origin, circulated over a wide geographical area, copies being made of it at a number of localities. For instance, Hereford Cath. O. III. 2, a ninth-century west Frankish copy of patristic bibliographical works, was brought to England in the late eleventh century, becoming the ancestor of a score of copies until it came to rest at Hereford by ca. 1150.²⁷ This kind of process can usually only be revealed by painstaking collation of existing copies, a procedure which has been carried out sufficiently often to show that it has great potential.²⁸

How many scribes typically wrote in a single book? The range is of course from one to many, but some generalizations can be made. Roughly speaking, the higher the quality sought for the book, the smaller the number of scribes who worked on it. In this respect the Worms Bible mentioned earlier was rather exceptional, though all of its scribes wrote well and the impression is of considerable uniformity. But most luxury liturgical books were written by one scribe or a very few scribes. This is the case, for instance, with great bibles such as the Carilef, Bury, and Lambeth Bibles, and the Bible of Stephen Harding.²⁹ The average monastic book, as far as there is such a thing, was usually the work of no more than two or three hands.³⁰

How much did scribes participate in other aspects of book-making apart from writing? They certainly carried out those tasks most intimately related to their main work, such as folding, pricking and ruling the parchment. There is evidence that they could participate in at least some of the other processes that prepared the parchment for writing on, and that they did at least the simplest coloured initials, whether painted or made with a pen. Long ago Jonathan Alexander studied the minor ('arabesque') initials found in English books between ca. 1120 and ca. 1175, surmising that these were typically the work of the scribes who wrote text.³¹ Additional evidence is supplied by contemporary representations of persons engaged in both writing and painting. One of these is the Norman Hugo Pictor, who both wrote and decorated late eleventh-century manuscripts at Bayeux, Durham and Exeter.³² His nickname, 'Pictor', suggests that he was primarily regarded as a decorator, but in a miniature made by himself he is shown simultaneously painting and writing, and his surviving scribal work is well known. Another example is the already mentioned (presumably German) scribe/artist Hildebert (ca. 1136), who figures in two pen-worked miniatures, together with his apprentice Everwin.³³ In one miniature he is writing, in the other painting (and titled 'H. pictor'). In the one showing him writing Everwin is painting the ornament for an 'arabesque' initial. In the case of the Augustinian canons at Frankenthal, Cohen-Mushlin has been able to show that some of the scribes specialized in the pen-and-ink outline of elaborate initials.³⁴ One of the most famous and often reproduced contemporary representations of book-making is the full-page frontispiece to Bamberg, Staatsbibl. Patr. 5, made ca. 1130 at and for the local Benedictine community of St Michael.³⁵ Within the rectangular frame are disposed ten medallions showing the various stages of the making of a manuscript book. Each medallion encloses the bust of a person engaged in a particular task, from the preparation of the parchment to the binding of the completed book

(plus teaching from it). While there is no way of knowing how many individuals were intended to be involved, it is clear that all the stages were envisaged as being pursued in-house, for all the persons depicted are tonsured and appear to be wearing monastic garb.

In an important chapter, Michael Gullick has investigated the speed at which twelfth-century scribes wrote. This is not the same as the more interesting question, which he also discusses, of how long it took to complete the writing of a substantial book.³⁶ Both are difficult to ascertain except in those rare cases in which a scribal colophon tells us the answer.³⁷ Clearly one of the variables is the amount of time allocated to the task; this was presumably less per diem for a monk (calculated nonetheless at a healthy possible maximum of five hours) than for a professional, dedicated scribe. Related to this issue is the length of a scribe's career, something rarely considered by those attempting to date manuscripts. Common sense suggests that a scribe who lived to the age of seventy might have had a writing career of as much as fifty years. This should influence, more than it does and in the direction of caution, our attempts to date manuscripts on the basis of palaeography alone.

Female Scribes: All experts agree that is impossible to tell the difference between male and female scribes.³⁸ The first question that usually occurs to anyone interested in this area is: who made books for female communities? It turns out that, at least in some parts of Europe, women not only made their own books but also made books for monks, especially in the case of double houses. The best evidence for this comes from the Germanic realm and it is abundant: much of it has been gathered by Alison Beach studying female scribes in southern Bavaria (an area which includes not only modern Bavaria but also Swabia and Austria).³⁹ Take, for example, the Carolingian foundation of Wessobrunn, since the mid-tenth century a community of secular canons, re-established as a Benedictine monastery at the opening of the twelfth century.⁴⁰ About 1138 a female convent was established nearby, and over the next two or three decades, influenced by the style of reform emanating from Hirsau, the communities merged to become a double house. At an early stage of this process we learn of an *inclusa*, Diemut, who was apparently at first a local solitary, soon joining the women's community. The details of her life are very obscure; even the date of her death has been put within the wide range ca. 1130–ca. 1150. But of her work we know a good deal. Diemut was a more than competent scribe, copying both liturgical and library books for the combined community. The two early in-house booklists mentioned earlier credit her with

copying no fewer than forty-seven volumes, of which fourteen survive (Figure 4.1). At least two other female scribes collaborated with her and with each other, as did a local monk named Ludwig. By the late twelfth century Wessobrunn seems to have possessed a book-collection of 155 volumes; Diemut's copying accounted for nearly one-third of them.⁴¹

At opposite ends of the Germanic world were the nunnery at Lamspringe in Lower Saxony and the female community within the double monastery of Admont in Carinthia/Austria. Lamspringe followed the familiar pattern: founded as a collegiate community for women in the ninth century, between 1119 and 1130 it became a Benedictine nunnery with an Augustinian canon (from the nearby community of Hamersleben) as provost. By mid-century it had its own scriptorium, sufficiently active and skilled to take in commissions from other houses. Two of its nun-scribes, Ermengarde and Odelgarde, are known by name, and some of their work survives.⁴² One could prolong this account of identified female scribes in Germanic Europe almost indefinitely, but I shall end with the particularly interesting example of Admont, a rare case of a community whose medieval library survives largely intact.⁴³ Founded as a Benedictine house in 1074, Admont was reformed according to the Hirsau pattern after 1115, adding on a women's community between 1116 and 1120. More than 200 of its twelfth-century manuscripts survive, most apparently made locally. There is good evidence for the substantial participation of the women's community in the making of these books. Five women and ten men have been identified as copyists; by the late twelfth century, each house had its own library and librarian, and one female scribe, Adelheit, was commemorated for her work in the monastery's necrology. Women copied books for the men's library and vice versa. Men and women somehow managed to collaborate on the same book, despite the strict rules which segregated the two communities. It is known that female recruitment at Admont, and doubtless elsewhere in Germany, privileged those of aristocratic birth who had received a good education in the liberal arts before entering the cloister. As a result the female scribes at Admont were literate and the female community remarkably self-confident.⁴⁴

Scriptoria

As the foregoing discussion has implied, it is difficult to discuss the work of individual scribes other than in the context of a scriptorium. The word was in use in our period, though I think not widely.⁴⁵ For our purposes we might define it as a locality where more than one scribe was at work, either

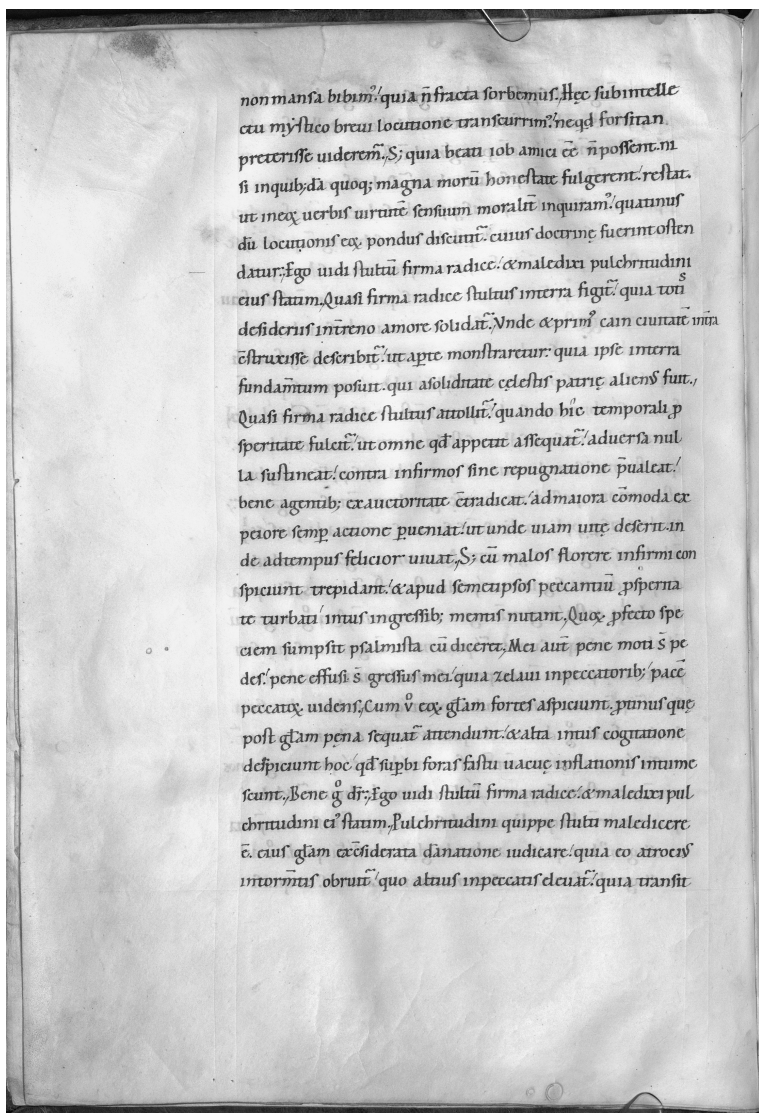


Figure 4.1 Handwriting of Diemut, *inclusa* of Wessobrunn. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 22009, f. 4v.

contemporaneously or in succession. There is probably sufficient reason to further tighten the definition, by adding to it the notion of a team of scribes under the discipline of a master, collaborating in the production of books. If we were to take this last notion seriously, then it is possible that the mere fact of a number of scribes working in the same place simultaneously might not in itself constitute a scriptorium. Take, for instance, the relatively large and wealthy Benedictine community at Malmesbury in south-west England. It housed the great historian and scholar William, who during his adult life, ca. 1115–ca. 1143, both copied books himself and organized other members of the community to support him.⁴⁶ Eleven surviving manuscripts from Malmesbury contain William's hand and those of another fifty-four copyists. In their general appearance the hands of these scribes vary widely from each other, as they vary also in competence. Most of them were clearly not very experienced and some of them only appear for a few leaves or even lines before – one presumes – William lost patience with them. Four scribes wrote long stretches of text in more than one book, collaborating with each other and with William. One of them at least (my scribe A) evidently wrote over a substantial period of time, since one can observe his hand gaining in proficiency. These four individuals might be thought to have constituted the abbey's 'scriptorium', but their work, like the rest, is not of the highest quality and is strongly individualized. One has the impression of book-making at Malmesbury very much managed by William, an energetic scholar, not a master scribe in charge of the scriptorium. Another example of a 'non-scriptorium', as it might be termed, is Salisbury Cathedral over the last quarter of the eleventh century, a secular community to be sure, but at this period strongly monasticized through the imposition of the Rule of Chrodegang of Metz by the Norman Bishop Osbern (1078–99).⁴⁷ As Neil Ker and Tessa Webber have shown, Osbern seems to have drafted as many canons as possible to write new books for the cathedral, in effect to create a new library.⁴⁸ No fewer than eighty-odd books survive from this period, written by twenty-six scribes, probably canons, over two generations. Like the Malmesbury books, these were rather humble products, the hands not very calligraphic, highly differentiated from each other, almost entirely Continental or Continental-looking. A distinctive feature of the Salisbury books is the poorly mixed red ink used for initials and rubrics, resulting in a washy, pale pink colour and spreading on the page.

Nonetheless, at the opposite end of the spectrum, 'scriptorium' could sometimes mean a dedicated room or building in which scribes worked more or less continuously. An example would be the English Benedictine

abbey of St Albans. The house chronicle uses the word to refer to a physical entity, dating from at least the late eleventh century, in which two or three paid scribes worked at any one time, active through most of the twelfth century.⁴⁹ Most of the surviving St Albans manuscripts from the twelfth century are written by one or only a few scribes, in beautiful script and with handsome decoration, both showing a strong family likeness. These scribes not only produced liturgical and library books for the abbey itself, but took in orders from other places, above all female houses or the abbey's dependent cells.⁵⁰ The fact of monastic scriptoria producing work on commission, for presentation or for sale was perhaps commoner than we think. I have already mentioned Lamspringe in Saxony; I mention again Wessobrunn, where books copied by Diemut were given away or traded: a missal to the bishop of Trier, a *liber officialis* to the bishop of Augsburg, and a two-volume bible to buy an estate from a wealthy widow.⁵¹

At other houses a higher percentage of the inmates participated, and our notion of a 'scriptorium' has to be modified accordingly: Frankenthal has already been mentioned; another is Mont-St-Michel, where between one and two dozen scribes seem to have been at work simultaneously through the eleventh century, that is, about one-third of the community. These examples do not resemble the cases of Malmesbury or Salisbury inasmuch as the standard of writing is much higher, and there is evidence of training and scriptorial discipline, widely applied.

One question, perhaps too little considered, is the longevity of scriptoria. It is becoming increasingly clear that they did not necessarily operate, at least continuously or intensively, for a long period. The general rule seems to be that they lasted long enough to provide the basic stock for the library of the community. One or two generations of scribes might be sufficient to achieve this. However, there were many variations, some of which have been mentioned already. In England, Exeter and Salisbury Cathedrals started their library-building in the last quarter of the eleventh century, and had acquired the basic stock by ca. 1120.⁵² Durham Cathedral also made at least a strong start during the same period.⁵³ In each case the impetus seems to have come from a (Norman) bishop. A commoner pattern, not only in England but across much of Europe, was for the start being made in the 1120s, the finishing-post being reached around the middle or third quarter of the century. But of course much depended on the date of foundation of a particular community, and this especially concerns the houses of the new orders, often founded well into the twelfth century. Almost the same applies to houses founded much earlier, but that

were reformed ca. 1100 and thus revitalized in terms of their population and their commitment to *lectio divina*. In such cases, library-building, with the supporting scriptorial activity, might begin later and be prolonged up towards 1200. Examples of this, Frankenthal and Lamspringe, have already been given. Another variant is found at the cathedrals of Hereford and Lincoln, which followed the pattern of English secular foundations in having only small libraries, containing about 100 volumes of core texts. At both of these cathedrals small groups of books survive, dating from the first half of the twelfth century. They look like 'scriptorium' products, in that the same distinctive scribes and decorators appear in more than one book. But the total number of volumes in each case is so small that one wonders whether the 'scriptorium' was really an 'atelier', working on site or in the town over quite a short span of time.⁵⁴

House Styles: The notion of well-organized scriptoria, with a master scribe training others, raises the question of whether this resulted in something that might be called a 'house style', that is, a style of writing which was homogeneous and which was differentiated from that of other scriptoria. In fact, I think that the development of a 'house style' is probably another prerequisite for the use of the word 'scriptorium'. Thus, although at Malmesbury and Salisbury many books were produced in-house, they did not develop house styles, and so arguably did not have organized scriptoria. By contrast, at some places the imposed scriptorial discipline was so strict and so well learned that it is hard to distinguish between the work of individual scribes. This is true of communities in quite different parts of Europe, from the Benedictine abbeys of Gloucester and Winchcombe in south-west England, to that of Admont in Austria.⁵⁵ My impression is that German scriptoria seem to have been especially well disciplined, producing scribes who could write not only very well but in a very similar way. On the other hand, a good scribe could write in different styles,⁵⁶ and of course the script of a particular individual could change over time, with maturity and with old age.

Regional and National Styles: At the beginning of our period different scribal styles can be attached to particular scriptoria, to regions and to countries. In Spain the Visigothic script was on the way out, having been interdicted for the copying of liturgical books by a council of 1090.⁵⁷ In southern Italy and Sicily the decorative Beneventan script continued to be written into the early thirteenth century. Only in Ireland was Celtic minuscule maintained, against pressure from

Caroline and Gothic, well into the sixteenth century. But ca. 1100 there was also considerable variation within the family of Caroline minuscule.⁵⁸ For example, scribes at Christ Church Canterbury ca. 1100 wrote a distinctive hand which not only differentiates it from writing at Durham Cathedral around the same time, but even from some of that written at St Augustine's Abbey, a mere stroll away.⁵⁹ Writing in Anglo-Caroline of the late eleventh century is distinguishable at a glance from the variety of Caroline written in Normandy at the same time,⁶⁰ and both these styles are different from what was commonly written in the scriptoria of Germany and the Low Countries. But these differences tend to diminish as the century wore on. First of all, English, Norman and northern French script became hard to distinguish. Germany holds out for longer, but by the mid-thirteenth century the Gothic style dominated in all these regions as well as in southern France and even southern Italy. Gothic style, as in architecture and illumination, was a pan-European phenomenon. The questions of how and why this happened have scarcely been investigated. Some of it may have had to do with increasing mobility of scribes, across frontiers and major waterways. One might think that its early stages were a consequence of international monastic networking. But by the last quarter of the twelfth century and beyond, the role of the universities, university towns and professional stationers was probably predominant. The beginnings of this process are to be discerned with the evidently commercial manufacture of glossed biblical books in Paris, during the second half of the twelfth century.⁶¹ Not only do we encounter, for the first time, commercial manufacture on quite a large scale, the product being marketed across most of Europe, but associated with it is the development of some of the earliest Gothic script. The details of both the manufacture and trade as yet elude us. One of the problems is in differentiating products made at the source from copies of them that seem to have proliferated, at least through France and England. Copies which, on other evidence, were demonstrably made in England are nonetheless indistinguishable, in script and decoration, from copies definitely made, on other evidence, in Paris. It is no accident that the principal form of decoration of these books has been christened the 'Channel Style'. That makes the point that the dissemination of these books, in the first instance, was westwards. German libraries did not show the same keenness to acquire them until a generation or two later.

Notes

1. Facsimile ed. Delisle 1909.
2. Apart from the facsimile itself, see Ker, *English MSS*, 16, 34–7, and pls. 14–5.
3. But see the examples of Malmesbury and Salisbury cited in the present volume, pp. 78–80.
4. I am not aware of any attempt to compile figures for the totality of the phenomenon. However, with respect to female monasticism, Bruce Venarde speaks of a fourfold increase in the numbers of houses in England and France between 1080 and 1172, and much the same increase appears to be true for Germany: Venarde, 1997, 126. His total of such houses in England and France ca. 1200 is 477. For Germany, figures of ca. 150 in 1100, 500 by 1250, are given by Bernards, 1.
5. Beach, *Women as Scribes*; Härtel 2006, ch. 3.
6. I have mentioned this phenomenon in Thomson 2007, 26–7. Nonetheless, see Stirnemann 1984, 1989.
7. Much of the literature is brought together in Gullick 1995, 55, nn. 17–9.
8. Sears 2006, 75–6 and fig. 1.
9. Gullick 1998.
10. On Eadwine, see *Eadwine*, esp. 13–4, 180–1; on Manerius, Dodwell 1954, 110–1; Gullick 1998, 15 and n. 70.
11. Thomson, *St Albans*, 1. 13.
12. Thomson 2006, 25 and nn. 34–5.
13. *Liber Ordinis*, 78 seq.; Cahn *Romanesque Manuscripts*, 1. 19–20 and n. 42.
14. De Hamel, *Glossed Books*.
15. Rouse and Rouse 1997, 34–44. Or, more pithily, following the prologue to the Pauline Epistles: ‘On your feet, Raulinus; off to the pub’ (my translation).
16. *Eadwine*, 180, for the complete inscription; see also pl. 32. His name also appears in a prayer following the collect to Ps. 150. The use of the word ‘scriptor’ is interesting: was it intended to cover his painting as well as writing, or does it mean that he thought of himself primarily as an excellent scribe? Cf. the present volume. (p. 72), with respect to Hugo Pictor.
17. Orderic (ed. Chibnall), 2. 87. To this one can add the named and praised scribes at Liessies and Prüfening (Sears 2006, 79–80, 85–8, 94–5), at St Michael’s Bamberg, and Anchin (Gullick 2006, 101–3).
18. Matthew Paris, *Gesta Abbatum Sancti Albani*, 32; translated in Thomson, *St Albans*, 1. 13.
19. Alexander, *Mont St Michel*, 37–8.
20. Hereford Cath. O. V. 10, O. V. 14, O. VI. 10, P. I. 12, P. II. 14, P. III. 7, P. V. 3, P. V. 4; BL Royal 3 A. XII, 7 F. VI; Oxford, Jesus Coll. 26, 52–3, 62, 67–8, 70; Watson 1984, nos. 798–803. A particularly elaborate version of the inscription is in Hereford Cath. P. I. 12, f. i: ‘[L]iber sancte Marie de Cirecestre’ abbatis primi Serlonis tempore scriptus per manus canonicorum Deodati et Fulconis postea prioris sub Gilleberto primo tunc cantore.’
21. Beach, *Women as Scribes*, 43, 60–3.

22. The miniature has often been reproduced, e.g. Egbert 1967, 31; Alexander 1978, 109–10; Stammberger 2003, pl. 7.
23. Alexander 1978, 38 n. 2.
24. William of Malmesbury, for instance, corrected his texts heavily in the interests of comprehensibility, sometimes unauthoritatively, sometimes against the exemplar or another copy. See Thomson 2015, 169–85.
25. Beach, *Manuscripts and Monastic Culture*, 65–6, 70–2.
26. Gullick 1995, 39, 42.
27. Mynors, *Cassiodorus*, xxxix–xlix; Mynors and Thomson, *Hereford*, 17–8.
28. Ker, *English MSS*, 12–5, 54–7; Webber 1996.
29. For the Carilef Bible (only vol. 2 survives, one scribe), see Mynors, *Durham*, 33–4 and pls. 16–8, Gullick 1990, 63; for the Bury Bible (only vol. 1 survives, one scribe), Thomson, *Bury Bible*, 36; for the Lambeth Bible (2 vols., one scribe as far as vol. 2 f. 196, of 302), Dodwell 1959, *MMBL* 3, 322–5, Riedmayer, *Lambeth Bibel*; the discussion by Shepard, *Lambeth*, is unfortunately amateurish; for the Bible of Stephen Harding (2 vols., three hands), Zaluska 1989, 63–III, 67–70. Other examples are given by Gullick 1990, 82 n. 74.
30. Decoration was another matter: cf. for instance the notorious case of the Winchester Bible (Oakeshott 1945).
31. Alexander 1978, esp. 90–6, 100–3; Thomson 2002.
32. Pächt 1950; Alexander 1978, 107–8 (pl. 19); Gullick 1990, 74–5. One could add the German nun Guda, in a caption to her self-portrait in Frankfurt, Stadt- und Universitätsbibl. Barth. 42: ‘Guda peccatrix mulier scripsitque pinxit hunc librum.’ And the scribe of the Carilef Bible: Gullick 1990, 64–5.
33. See n. 22. Both the miniatures are reproduced by Egbert 1967, 30–1, and Alexander *Medieval Illuminators*, figs. 18 and 19.
34. Cohen-Mushlin 1983, 74–109.
35. Reproduced, e.g., in Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*, fig. 15, and (better) Stammberger 2003, pl. 5.
36. Gullick 1995.
37. Ibid.
38. True even when male and female scribes wrote within the same (double) house: Beach, *Women as Scribes*, 103.
39. Beach, *Women as Scribes*.
40. What follows is based upon *ibid.*, ch. 2.
41. Thomson 2012, 134–5.
42. Walter-von dem Knesebeck 1995; Cohen-Mushlin 2004, 155–70; Härtel 2006; Hotchin 2007, 167–71.
43. What follows is based upon Beach, *Women as Scribes*, ch. 3; also Thomson 2007, 29–32.
44. Beach 2002.
45. It figures in the *Oxford Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, under ‘scriptorius’, with a wide range of meanings including a writing room. Unfortunately few examples are given.

46. Thomson 2003, ch. 4.
47. Thomson 2006, 54–8, esp. 58.
48. Ker 1985; Webber 1992, ch. 1.
49. Thomson, *St Albans*, esp. 1. 52–3 on the evidence for a built scriptorium, repaired in the late twelfth century.
50. *Ibid.*, 1. 25–7, 37–8, 47, 54, 56–61.
51. Beach, *Women as Scribes*, 43–4.
52. For Salisbury, see n. 48; for Exeter, Ker, *English MSS*, 23–4; Gameson 1999, 107–27; Thomson 2006, 48–54.
53. Mynors, *Durham*, 32–63. More recently, Gullick 1990 and ‘Professional Scribes’.
54. Thomson 1989, xiv; Mynors and Thomson, *Hereford*, xvii–xix.
55. These observations are based upon my own first-hand observations of MSS from these houses. For Gloucester, see also Thomson 1997. For Winchcombe, see also Ker, *English MSS*, pls. 24 and 25; Ker 1980.
56. Cf. the extraordinary example, cited by Gullick 1990, 83 n. 75 and pl. 20, of a late eleventh-century MS from Exeter, in which the scribe wrote two short passages in a convincing imitation of ninth-century Carolingian minuscule, presumably as found in his exemplar.
57. For Visigothic, Beneventan and Irish scripts, see Bischoff, *Latin Paleography*, 83–100, 109–11, with bibliography.
58. For more details than I can provide here, see Chapter 2 of the present volume.
59. Ker, *English MSS*, 23–30; Webber 1995; Gullick 1998. The ‘Christ Church’ style of script, however, did in due course penetrate the scriptorium of St Augustine’s.
60. Ker, *English MSS*, pls. 2 and 3, a dramatic confrontation.
61. De Hamel, *Glossed Books*.

PART II

Readers and Their Books

CHAPTER 5

Scholars and Their Books

Constant J. Mews

The personal collections of individual scholars in twelfth-century Europe were by their nature transient. With certain notable exceptions, we know about most of them only through notices of their bequests to established libraries.¹ Nonetheless, we can observe through these notices a significant growth in the number and range of the books collected by individual scholars, compared to the situation that prevailed in previous centuries. I focus here on two parallel tendencies in scholars' private libraries prior to the increasing standardisation of scholastic book production in Paris from around 1200. Within the liberal arts, we see an expansion in the range of texts and authors being collected by scholars, particularly in the trivium, and to a lesser degree in the quadrivium. In scripture, theology and canon law, we see a similar desire to expand the range of texts and authors being studied, above all through the creation of anthologies. In some cases, we see both tendencies in the collection of books owned by scholars. Rather than give an exhaustive account of every known private library in the twelfth century, I shall simply observe these two trends within what we can learn about a few personal libraries, acutely conscious of the fragmentary nature of our evidence. Only occasionally do surviving manuscripts inform us about the individual scholars to whom they might once have belonged.

The Nature of Miscellanies

A word of caution is needed about medieval inventories and the books to which they refer. They tend to identify a manuscript only by a single author or title, without regard for the variety of texts that it might contain. Thus a medieval book list does not necessarily indicate the range of texts that a single volume might contain. For example, an inventory of the books owned by the cathedral chapter of Pistoia, compiled by its dean between 1104 and 1116, lists many volumes that still survive, including one, described simply as an anthology (C. 101: *Scarpso*, i.e. 'scarpus' = excerpt), copied in

the early twelfth century, in fact containing a ninth-century canon law collection and various patristic prologues to Scripture.² On a blank folio after the *Capitula Angilrami*, the scribe has added three short poems relating to gender: the first a verse extract from the eleventh-century dictionary of Papias about feminine nouns that look masculine; the second a relatively widely copied pseudo-Virgilian poem (perhaps late antique) about three Amazonian women who kill their husbands in different ways; while the third is an otherwise unknown ten-line poem about the five stages by which love can seduce a young man: sight, conversation, touch, kisses and losing one's mind.³ These poems illustrate how a scholar in early twelfth-century Pistoia distracted himself from copying religious texts by adding literary treasures of a quite different character.

A similar diversity is evident from a manuscript, copied in the mid-twelfth century, from northern France (BnF lat. 14793). On f. iv, immediately preceding theological letters by Walter of Mortagne (d. 1174) and an annotated copy of Abelard's *Confessio fidei 'Universis'*, is found a poem in the voice of a young woman to an unforthcoming lover and satirical verses about worldliness in the schools by Petrus Pictor.⁴ A single scholar, quite possibly Walter of Mortagne himself, has assembled texts about love, theological debate and satire. The manuscript illustrates how a scholar who collected books relating to scripture and theology could just as well include within a volume of religious texts verses of a quite different character. Its varied contents remind us that book lists offer an inadequate guide to the complexity of texts that a volume might contain.

Expanding Awareness of Classical Literature

Most bequests of books are very small and do not allow us to glimpse the larger collection that a private scholar might have owned.⁵ One example of a larger donation is known from a list of fourteen volumes given to Beauvais Cathedral by *Roscelinus grammaticus* in the early twelfth century. Apart from three specifically Christian texts, namely Augustine's homilies on John (a seventh-century uncial copy from Luxeuil), Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* and a *troparium*, the contents are classical: Priscian, Macrobius, an *Arismetica* (Boethius), a *Dialectica*, a *Rethorica de inventione* (Cicero), Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*, Virgil, Horace, Juvenal, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and the *Thebaid* of Statius.⁶ The list implies that this *grammaticus* also taught dialectic, rhetoric and *arithmetica*. He may well have been Roscelin, cantor of Beauvais, who, together with a certain Nevelo of Compiègne, asked Bishop Guy to establish a community of

canons at St-Vaast, Beauvais, in 1072.⁷ It seems likely that this is the same Roscelin of Compiègne who was accused of teaching heresy at Beauvais by Fulco, a former monk of Bec, installed as bishop of Beauvais in 1088, after Guy had been ousted from office. The *Dialectica* owned by Roscelinus grammaticus may have been similar to the *Dialectica* of Garlandus, who taught at Besançon, where Roscelin of Compiègne also held a canonry.⁸ As John of Salisbury later remarked, such treatises were popular because they combined the teaching of various authors, Porphyry, Aristotle and Boethius, into a single book.⁹ It was much more convenient to have a single manual than individual copies of glossed authors. The bequest illustrates the range of texts a teacher might own.

A similar range of classical authors is cited in the *Commentum in Theodolum*, composed by Bernard of Utrecht sometime before 1099.¹⁰ Bernard exploits the use of pagan authors by Theodolus, a minor early Christian poet, to justify contemporary study of the *auctores*. Bernard draws on Aristotle's comment in the *Prior Analytics* about investigating an author's intention long before that work became widely known in the Parisian schools.¹¹ Bernard's analysis of how any text should be related to philosophy echoes that of the *Glosule* on Priscian's *Grammatical Institutes*, also composed in the late eleventh century.¹² Conrad of Hirsau expands on Bernard's *Commentum* in his *Dialogus super auctores*, perhaps from the 1130s. Conrad is cautious about certain of Ovid's writings, in particular the *Heroides*, in which the poet 'croaks about love'.¹³ While Ovid's *Metamorphoses* had been known since the Carolingian period, he was not then as popular as Virgil or Horace. By the late eleventh century, however, Ovid's writings seem to have become increasingly available to individual scholars. In the eleventh century, a bequest of thirty-five volumes made by a certain Reginfridus to the Bavarian Benedictine house at Benediktbeuern included both Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and *De arte amatoria*.¹⁴ Conrad of Hirsau's caustic comment about the popularity of Ovid's 'croaking about love' hints at monastic suspicion of some of the texts circulating among students in the early twelfth century. An early witness to this enthusiasm for the *Heroides* is provided by the *Carmina* exchanged by Baudri of Bourgueil with women like Constance of Le Ronceray. Another is illustrated by the anonymous *Deidemia to Achilles*, written in the voice of an anguished princess to her beloved, in imitation of the *Heroides*.¹⁵ While the *Metamorphoses* is the only Ovidian text mentioned among the 135 volumes in the late eleventh-century inventory of a well-endowed female monastery (possibly that of Chelles), the *Heroides* was certainly known to educated young women in the early twelfth century.¹⁶ A copy was given by a scholar,

along with Ovid's *De ponte*, to Tegernsee, according to an annotation in its twelfth-century copy of Persius.¹⁷ By around 1150, the *Heroides* had become a standard textbook, even in schools run by monasteries, as shown by the popularity of introductions (*Accessus*) to its text.¹⁸

Enlargement of the Trivium

A key figure exemplifying the expansion of the trivium within a personal library is John of Salisbury, bishop of Chartres (d. 1180). His *Metalogicon* and *Policraticus* summarise key themes of those authors whose study he esteemed, whether in grammar, dialectic or rhetoric. By the 1150s, John had become familiar with the *Sophistical Refutations* and *Prior* and *Posterior Analytics* of Aristotle, texts largely unknown in the 1120s. Many of these were texts that Thierry, chancellor of Chartres, had included in his *Heptateuchon*, donated by him to the cathedral library. There has been much debate about where John pursued his studies between 1138 and 1141, whether at Chartres as traditionally thought, or at Paris, as Richard Southern argues.¹⁹ By the late 1130s, the Parisian schools were much larger than those of Chartres, but students there did not have access to the range of texts assembled at the cathedral library of Chartres through the activity of a line of distinguished teachers.

John's goal was to respond to the explosion in learning confronting students by the mid-twelfth century. He regretted that hyper-enthusiasm for dialectic had led to neglect of the traditional *auctores*, as taught by Bernard of Chartres and William of Conches. John's eulogy of a group of humanistically inclined masters, above all of Bernard of Chartres (about whom he had only heard reports), enabled him to criticise a tendency he observed in the schools to focus uniquely on dialectic, rather than the broader tradition of *logica*, embracing dialectic and rhetoric, with its foundations in the study of *grammatica*. Over his career, John would certainly have built up an impressive library of classical authors. Yet the collection of some twenty-five volumes that he bequeathed to the cathedral of Chartres may not have constituted his entire library. It included classical authors: Valerius Maximus, Vegetius, Eutropius, Seneca and Cicero's *De officiis* and *De oratore*, but many more patristic authors, including Jerome, Augustine and Origen, and the *Celestial Hierarchy* of Pseudo-Denis the Areopagite.²⁰ The copy of the *Policraticus* that he bequeathed provided his personal synthesis of much (although not all) of the classical reading he had acquired. It may well be that many of the more unusual items in John's personal library were dispersed among friends, and that he gave to the cathedral library only those volumes that it wanted.

John's literary interests are paralleled by those of Philip of Harcourt, bishop of Bayeux (1142–64), who bequeathed 140 books to the abbey of Bec in the final months of his life. Philip was more of a collector than a scholar.²¹ His personal library provided thorough coverage of all the Latin Church Fathers, as well as a significant number of Greek Fathers in Latin translation, but there was also a solid array of classical texts, above all of Cicero, Sallust and Seneca, of which almost nothing now survives. The library at Bec benefited from bequests such as these, accumulated outside a monastic environment by a bishop strongly interested in the classical tradition.

The Expansion of Scientific Learning

Scientific texts by non-Christian authors were also increasingly sought by scholars in the later eleventh and twelfth centuries, building on a precedent set by Gerbert of Aurillac (d. 1003), who had frequently asked his friends for copies of scientific texts to which he had no access in the libraries of northern France.²² In the 1060s, Constantine the African (an Arabic-speaking Christian who had studied at Fustat or Old Cairo, where Caliph al-Hakim had established a massive library in the early eleventh century) took refuge in Salerno. He then came to the attention of both its Norman rulers and the abbot of Monte Cassino, where he became a monk. Through the translations of Arabic medical and scientific writers made by Constantine, as well as of Nemesius made from the Greek by Alfano, archbishop of Salerno, a few Latin scholars could acquire knowledge of Hellenistic scientific and philosophical traditions. The fact that Anselm sought to obtain a copy of the *Articella* for Bec illustrates how new modes of thinking, emphasising rational inquiry, could transform a monastic library.²³ Doctors may have owned many such texts in their private libraries, only occasionally preserved for posterity through their bequest to an institution.

Most of the bequests of books made to Chartres Cathedral involved just one or two items.²⁴ By comparison, Bernard of Chartres, subdeacon and chancellor, bequeathed twenty-four books to his chapter library.²⁵ Thierry, archdeacon and chancellor from 1141 to 1150/1, had an even larger collection. He donated his two-volume *Heptateuchon*, three volumes of Roman law and fifty-five other volumes, many of them summarised within his massive compendium of the seven liberal arts.²⁶ It included not just Aristotle's *Prior Analytics* and *Sophistical Refutations*, which had only begun to become widely known by the 1130s, but translations of Euclid's

Elements and a treatise on numbers by Al-Khwarizmi. Thierry acquired these texts through a scholarly network that included Adelard of Bath and Hermann of Carinthia, active as translators in England and Spain, respectively.²⁷ Another great collector of scientific books was Robert of Torigny, made prior of Bec in 1149, and abbot of Mont-St-Michel from 1154 until his death in 1186. Many precious philosophical and scientific texts now preserved at Avranches were undoubtedly collected through his interests.²⁸

Only a few scholars in the twelfth century were able to procure translations of scientific and philosophical texts made in Spain by figures like John of Seville, who effectively initiated the translation movement at Toledo.²⁹ His work paved the way for Robert of Ketton (ca. 1110–60) and Dominicus Gundissalinus (ca. 1119–90), archdeacon of Segovia and perhaps a converted Jew.³⁰ When Peter the Venerable travelled to Spain in the early 1140s, commissioning Robert of Ketton to translate the Quran into Latin, the abbot of Cluny was implicitly recognising the limitations of Christian understanding of a broader world, even if he embarked on the project in order to reaffirm its spiritual superiority.³¹ His polemic against Saracen impiety would not impede a further generation of translators, most famously Gerard of Cremona (1110–87), reportedly a royal physician, from translating a massive body of medical, scientific and philosophical texts into Latin. Where or how Gerard acquired his knowledge of Arabic is not known. Nonetheless, with the help of Gundissalinus, Gerard amassed a remarkable library of texts that he translated from Arabic, not only previously unknown texts of Aristotle and Ptolemy, but also the writings of many Islamic physicians and philosophers, most famously Avicenna.³² Some of these translations were current in Normandy and England before becoming more widely known within the University of Paris in the thirteenth century.

The Broadening of Canon Law, Exegesis and Theology

While a small group of scholars built up collections of classical and scientific works, the disciplines best represented in their libraries were canon law, biblical exegesis and theology. Over the course of the twelfth century scholars came to value manuals and anthologies that collected an increasingly wide range of authorities in these disciplines, arranged in a way that could provoke rational reflection. The *Decretum* compiled by Ivo, dean of St-Quentin at Beauvais until 1090 and subsequently bishop of Chartres, systematised a much wider range of Christian authors than had

been gathered in the similar work by Burchard of Worms in the early eleventh century.³³ Ivo urged readers not to be disturbed by the variety of opinions they might encounter. As he explained in his introduction, the core principle was Augustine's teaching, 'Have charity and do what you will'. Ivo's great contemporary, Anselm of Laon (d. 1117), provided a similar service in systematising access to the Church Fathers by delivering *sententie* on major doctrinal questions they raised.³⁴ Whereas traditionally only major monastic or cathedral libraries might own complete sets of writings of the Church Fathers, Anselm of Laon made it possible for scholars to acquire for themselves easy access to their opinions. The lack of uniformity of manuscripts containing theological *sententie* from the school of Anselm of Laon testifies to the freedom with which scholars compiled collections of his teaching.

In the decade ca. 1130–40, Anselm of Laon and his immediate disciples produced marginal and interlinear glosses on scripture that made it possible for individual scholars to own a portable library of patristic and subsequent exegesis on all the major books of the Bible: Genesis, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, the Song of Songs, Matthew, John, the canonical Epistles, Revelation and quite possibly also on Mark, Luke and the Pauline Epistles.³⁵ While most surviving copies belonged or were bequeathed to religious institutions, there can be no doubt that private scholars acquired their own copies. Robert Amiclas, who taught in Paris in the mid-twelfth century, left to the Cistercian abbey of Buildwas, near Hereford, some time after 1176, a collection that makes up an almost complete Glossed Bible, dating from the 1130s to the 1170s. He also owned a few texts for teaching grammar (glosses on Theodulus and Juvenal and of Petrus Helias on Priscian), but no works of systematic theology.³⁶ The completeness of his collection of glossed books of the Bible illustrates the disparaging comment of Robert of Melun, bishop of Hereford from 1163 to 1167, about the reverence such glosses were generating in the schools as more important than scripture itself.³⁷ The fifth booklet of one of the Buildwas manuscripts contains, alongside four booklets of glossed texts owned by Amiclas, the *Commentarius Cantabrigiensis*, a *reportatio* of Abelard's commentary on the Pauline Epistles.³⁸ His bequest illustrates how it was possible for a teaching master to benefit from the pedagogical revolution that took place in the twelfth century.

Peter Abelard's *Sic et non* (initially drafted ca. 1120) similarly enabled students to have access to a much wider range of patristic authorities than had been initially assembled by Anselm of Laon, but with greater focus on the need for critical reflection. Differences in perspective, Abelard

suggested, might derive from the rhetoric employed. Thus, while Abelard repeated Ivo's version of Augustine's teaching that one should always 'have charity' (*habe caritatem*), he also supplied Augustine's original wording, *dilige et fac quod vis*. Abelard attached to the *Sic et non* the *Retractationes* of Augustine, as an example of how the greatest Church Father could reconsider his opinions at a later date. The *Sic et non* provided a convenient portable library for peripatetic students. Abelard's patristic reading was unusually wide. He had a passion for authenticity, shown, for example, in the way that he corrected the attribution of a text (*De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*) from Augustine to Gennadius.³⁹ The relative popularity of the *Sic et non* compared to his *Theologia* demonstrates how Abelard's greatest contribution to the discipline of theology was to urge students to evaluate the arguments of the Church Fathers, without being bound by prior commitment to accepting their point of view. The *Sic et non* showed what was not so clear from the summaries of Ivo of Chartres and Anselm of Laon: that there was great diversity of theological perspective within the patristic canon, and that it was necessary to read the Fathers with awareness of the arts of language. Abelard showed that Augustine did not always have the last word on any disputed question.

Abelard's technique of debating the precise text of the Fathers was very different from that promoted by Hugh of St-Victor in his *Didascalicon*, written in 1121.⁴⁰ Hugh combined an introduction to the various disciplines of the liberal arts with guidance for sacred reading, the goal of which was not simply knowledge, but advancement of the soul along the path of virtue and wisdom. While Abelard emphasised the questioning of received assertions, Hugh encouraged the application of a meditative focus not just to Scripture but to all reading. Hugh's doctrinal synthesis, formulated most completely in the *De Sacramentis*, composed during the 1130s, was much more influential than that of Abelard's *Theologia*. Yet their approaches were not mutually exclusive. Few students could afford their own copy of Hugh's massive synthesis. For that reason, the *Summa sententiarum*, compiled in the late 1130s by a student of Hugh, was much more accessible and popular than Hugh's *De Sacramentis*. A student's manuscript copied in the 1140s and given to St-Victor (Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal 256) contains both Abelard's *Theologia* and the *Summa sententiarum*. At a later date, this manuscript was extended with a copy of John of Cornwall's treatise to Pope Alexander III attacking Peter Lombard (ca. 1170).⁴¹ The manuscript reveals a fascinating range of theological perspectives. The librarian of St-Victor thought it appropriate to supplement the *Summa sententiarum* and Abelard's *Theologia* with a treatise warning

against the theologian Peter Lombard, who himself drew heavily on both these texts in his own *Quattuor libri sententiarum*, completed in the 1150s. This manuscript was certainly used by a student of theology in mid-twelfth-century Paris. Each item in it offers its own perspective on Christian theology.

One legacy of the teaching of Hugh of St-Victor was increased interest in the scriptural exegesis of Jewish scholars. Unlike Anselm of Laon, Hugh gave considerable attention to the exegetical views of *Hebraei*, generally disciples of Rashi.⁴² Hugh's interest in Hebrew exegesis was a particular inspiration for Andrew of St-Victor, abbot of the Augustinian canonry at Wigmore in Shropshire, and a cluster of other English Hebraists. One of these was Odo, author of the *Ysagoge in Theologiam*, which drew on both Abelard's *Sententiae* and the *Summa sententiarum*.⁴³ It was written by an English scholar familiar with Abelard's theology, who cited Old Testament passages in Hebrew script (with Latin transliteration) as part of his desire to retrieve the authentic text of scripture.⁴⁴ Another English Hebraist was Maurice of Kirkham, an Augustinian canon and enthusiast for the study of Hebrew, writing in the 1170s, who tells us in his *Contra Salomitas* that when he was young (ca. 1130?), he had learned Hebrew from certain Jews, and had copied Hebrew psalters that had belonged to Gerard, archbishop of York from 1100 to 1108. As royal chancellor, Gerard (previously archdeacon of Rouen) may have helped introduce Jews into England.⁴⁵ William of Malmesbury comments that Gerard was so interested in astrology and the black arts that the canons of York refused him burial in their cathedral.⁴⁶ The comment sheds light on the Hebrew books owned by Archbishop Gerard, perhaps similar to the surviving example that belonged to St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, written in England ca. 1150, in which the same scribe wrote the text in Hebrew and glosses in Latin.⁴⁷ Maurice exemplifies how knowledge of exegesis in the twelfth century could expand to acquisition and production of books written in Hebrew.

The Personal Library of Guido di Castello (Pope Celestine II)

One politically important figure who amassed a remarkable specialist library was Guido di Castello, a cardinal deacon from 1127, who became Pope Celestine II (1142–3) after the death of Innocent II.⁴⁸ Trained as a lawyer, Guido was a significant figure in the papal court, who served as papal legate in Cologne in 1131/2 and in France 1139/40.⁴⁹ He was one of the many cardinals present with Pope Innocent II at the dedication of an altar

at Morigny in January 1131, an event attended by Peter Abelard, described by the local chronicler as 'a monk and abbot, and a religious teacher of the most distinguished schools'.⁵⁰ Among the fifty-six volumes he bequeathed to the church of Città di Castello only two (a *Rhetorica* and a Seneca) do not relate to canon law, scripture or theology. Alongside numerous unidentified scriptural glosses, an excerpt from Ivo of Chartres and the *Candela* (a synthesis of patristic and canonical texts compiled by Garland of Besançon), he owned an important copy of Abelard's *Sic et non* and *Theologia cum libro retractationum* (the latter referring to Augustine's *Retractationes*, included by Abelard in his *Sic et non*).⁵¹ Because these two items are found in a manuscript at Monte Cassino (Archivio della Badia 174) copied ca. 1200, it is reasonable to assume that this copy is related to Guido's manuscript. It contains Abelard's heavily annotated working draft of the future *Theologia 'Scholarium'* as it stood in the early 1130s, a draft also preserved in Tours, Bibl. mun 85.⁵² The likelihood is that Guido commissioned a copy of this manuscript after meeting Abelard at Morigny. Guido's interest in Abelard was viewed with concern by Bernard of Clairvaux, who wrote to him immediately after the Council of Sens in 1141 a letter, subsequently introduced within Bernard's correspondence as: 'To master Guido, who had been a disciple of Peter Abelard, about whom he presumed greatly, and who was later Pope.'⁵³ William of St-Thierry's comment that Abelard's books had flown across the Alps and could be found in Rome itself reflects his fear of the support these texts were finding among senior figures in the curia.⁵⁴ In 1140/1 Guido's apparent support for Abelard was perceived by William of St-Thierry and Bernard of Clairvaux as dangerous to the cause of ecclesiastical order. Yet the book list shows that Guido was more interested in canon law and scholastic theology than in the writings of Bernard and Hugh of St-Victor, neither of whom figure in his personal library.

The Personal Library of Peter Lombard

Another scholar who built up a revealing personal library was Peter Lombard, who taught in Paris from the early 1140s until becoming its bishop (1159–60). At his death, he bequeathed to the cathedral of Notre-Dame his collection of glossed books of the Old and New Testaments, a copy of his *Sentences* and the *Decretum*.⁵⁵ Separate testimony about his library is provided by an enigmatic list of books preserved on the final folio of Abelard's *Theologia 'Scholarium'* in Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal 256 (already mentioned) that apparently records an exchange of books between Peter

Lombard and the canons of St-Victor.⁵⁶ Its text, not easy to understand, merits translation:

This is the collection of books which Geoffrey Moricii carried [*added above the line*: from the books of master P. bishop]: Ovid's *De arte [amandi]*; Ovid, *Heroides*; Maximianus; Avianus; *Pamphilus* [a widely copied pseudo-Ovidian comedy]; Statius, *Achilleidos*; Ovid, *De Ponto* incomplete; letters of Horace, incomplete; Ovid, *Metamorphoses* incomplete; three books of Lucan; two books of Juvenal; Virgil; glosses of Cato and Theodolus; Ovid *On* . . . without title [i.e. the *Amores*]; bucolics; and nine quaternions.

[Second hand] Then, when he went to Paris, he took with him the Apocalypse of John, the canonical letters, the Lamentations of Jeremiah, and Claudian and two Priscians. The priest R. indeed sent to master P. through William de Fonte Morini, fifteen quaternions and through cleric P. twenty [quaternions], and later indeed, through canon G., forty-four quaternions about sentences and others compiled about the Psalms. He gave six volumes of the Pentateuch of Moses, and the four Gospels and the book of Ezekiel to the brothers of the habit. He kept back the Gospel History and a quaternion of notes and a *Bernardinus*.⁵⁷

What are we to make of this list? It was added at the end of a manuscript containing Abelard's *Theologia* and the *Summa sententiarum*, before John of Cornwall's treatise criticising Peter Lombard was appended to it. Stirnemann uses the fact that the manuscript belonged to St-Victor to suggest that it may record books coming into the abbey (presumably to be copied), as well as books that had been copied at St-Victor, either by its canons or by professional scribes that it employed. The first entry records classical authors borrowed from the books of someone identified in a subsequent interlinear note as 'master P. bishop' (who can only be Peter Lombard). Stirnemann suggests that a copy of Lucan from St-Victor (BnF lat. 15406) could be from this collection.⁵⁸ The second entry begins with a list of scriptural texts, without making explicit if they were being taken to the 'master Peter, bishop'. Then it lists various texts sent by the priest R. through various individuals (William de Fonte Morini, a cleric P. and a canon G[aufrius?]), to 'master P'. Stirnemann suggests that the massive collection of forty-four quaternions of *sententie* (352 folios) refers to the exemplar of Peter Lombard's *IV libri sententiarum*, supplemented by his glosses on Psalms. An early copy of the *Sentences* (Troyes, Mediathèque 900) has a colophon declaring that it was produced in 1158 by 'Michael of Ireland', to whom she attributes other key manuscripts also connected to St-Victor.⁵⁹ While the authority and date of the

Troyes manuscript are disputed, Stirnemann believes that it could have been made in 1158 from the forty-four quaternions of *sententie* being sent back to Peter Lombard. The list also implies that the copyists, presumably at St-Victor, borrowed a significant number of classical texts from Peter Lombard's library, including Ovid's *Heroides* and the more recently composed *Pamphilus*.⁶⁰ At a broader level, the list gives vivid insight into the complexity of exchanges of books between scholars and religious communities in a Parisian environment.

Scholasticism and Monastic Libraries in the Later Twelfth Century

Many scholastic texts, of both classical and Christian authors, were bequeathed by individual scholars to monastic houses, whose libraries were often better endowed than those of cathedrals. While monastic libraries remained repositories of traditional monastic spirituality and kept a only small proportion of books containing pagan authors or translations of Islamic scientific writers, they grew through the donations made by individual scholars of both non-Christian and scholastic Christian texts.⁶¹ A simple way of recognising this is by observing the large number of monastic copies of such intellectual masterpieces as the commentary of Gilbert of Poitiers on the *Opuscula sacra* of Boethius. Otto of Freising, who studied in northern France, quite possibly under Gilbert, would himself be responsible for introducing many new books, including Aristotelian texts, into monastic libraries in the German-speaking regions of Europe.⁶² While there is no doubt that monastic writers like Bernard of Clairvaux generated a distinct theological literature in the twelfth century, we should not assume that monks steered away from reading texts generated in the urban schools. The fifty-one volumes of Frowin, abbot of Engelberg (1142–78), offer a collection remarkable for being almost totally classical in character. The few exceptions are notable: a certain *Augustinus super epistolam Jacobi*, sermons on the Eucharist and two summaries of Abelard's teaching: the *Sic et non* (in a volume that also contained glosses on Macrobius and Priscian) and *sententie*, taken down from Abelard's teaching, also preserved at St Gallen (Stiftsbibl. 69).⁶³ Frowin, who composed a thoughtful *Tractatus de ueritate* in response to debates going on in the schools, brought to Engelberg a range of texts which he presumably encountered in his studies. These included many works of Boethius, Cicero on rhetoric and friendship, Horace, Avianus, Statius, the Latin Homer, Lucan and Ovid. In Germanic regions, such libraries

continued to play a vital role in promoting a culture that was both humanist and monastic.

Because monastic libraries in southern Germany escaped the wars of religion that engulfed so much of France and northern Germany in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they can paradoxically give us a better glimpse into twelfth-century scholastic culture than those from France. One famous example of this is the thirteenth-century manuscript from Benediktbeuern that contains the *Carmina burana*. It included many songs about love and satire that had circulated in northern France a century earlier. The fact that so many German students chose to enter monastic houses, bringing their personal libraries with them, undoubtedly helped maintain an intellectual tradition that would survive in Germany well into the early fourteenth century. At the same time, most of the books preserved in monastic libraries related to scripture, theology and canon law. Individual bequests made to such institutional libraries may sometimes have included texts of a secular character. The great majority, however, were books of immediate benefit to the monastic community.

Conclusion

This brief survey can only offer a glimpse of the expanding range of books individual scholars owned during the twelfth century, relating both to the liberal arts and theology and exegesis. Over the course of the twelfth century, donations by individual scholars to institutional libraries varied in size: from the fourteen volumes donated by *Roscelinus grammaticus* to Beauvais in the early twelfth century, to the 140 given by Philip of Bayeux to the abbey of Bec. While institutional religious libraries were always well stocked with Christian authors, well-educated scholars like Roscelin and Thierry were interested in building up their own collections of the canonical *auctores*, both pagan and Christian, for use in teaching. The greatest number of texts belonging to individual scholars, however, were in the domains of canon law, exegesis and theology. Some monks might have been troubled by the scholastic character of the new books being bequeathed to monastic libraries. By the mid-twelfth century, however, it had become increasingly normal for scholars to own not just a good range of non-Christian authors, but sophisticated works of theology and exegesis that took for granted an education in the *artes*. The books they owned and donated to institutional libraries were important both for systematising the learning of the past and for broadening mental horizons beyond the confines of a purely Latin Christian intellectual heritage.

Notes

1. See Genevois, Genest and Chalandon 1987; for Germanic regions, see *MABKDS* and Becker, *Catalogi*.
2. Identified by Savino 1987, 35, 39.
3. Described as *grammaticalia* in Murano, Savino and Zamponi 1998, 40–1; the poems are from *Papiae Ars grammatica*, ed. Cervani 1998, 87–8; *Anthologia latina*, ed. Riese 1869, 257–8 no. 392. See Mews 2016.
4. *Puella ad amicum munera promittentem*, also preserved in Liège, Bibl. universitaire 77, ff. 72v–73r, was edited by Bulst 1975, 16; see Mews 2014.
5. Munk Olsen 1989, 31–43, esp. 39 on the collections of individual scholars. He notes donations to Egmond of thirteen volumes by master Baudouin (1057–1105), eleven by a priest Simon (1130–61), fourteen to St-André-de-Rosans by Robert de Galone, twenty-six by master Alexander to Jumièges, where he became abbot from 1198 to 1213.
6. Cited by Delisle 1886, 160.
7. I argue that he is Roscelin of Compiègne, who came into conflict with Fulco, a monastic bishop of Beauvais, supported by St Anselm, in Mews 1996, esp. 17.
8. While De Rijk identified its author as the eleventh-century Garlandus Compotista, he is more likely to be a younger Garland, active in Besançon between 1118 and 1136, attested as accompanying Thierry of Chartres in 1148 to Frankfurt; see Robert, and B. de Vregille in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique* 20. 887. Roscelin's name is mentioned by Garlandus, *Dialectica*, 107.
9. John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon* 3. 4.
10. *Commentum in Theodolum*, in *Accessus ad Auctores*, 55–69.
11. *Ibid.*, 66–7, referring to Aristotle, *Analytica Priora* I, 24a, ed. Minio-Paluello, 5 and 433.
12. Gibson 1979.
13. Conrad, *Dialogus super auctores*, 114–5; on this passage, see Tilliette 1998.
14. *MBKDS*, 4. 2 Bistum Freising, 750 no. 107.
15. Baldricus Burgulianus, *Carmina*; Stohlmann 1973.
16. Ovid's heroines are mentioned by the young woman in Ep. 45 of the *Epistolae duorum amantium*, ed. Könsgen 1974, 24. On a library perhaps similar to that of Argenteuil (BnF lat. 943, ff. 154v–155r), see Turcan-Verkerk 2007.
17. *MABKDS*, 4. 2 Bistum Freising, 751 no. 108 (BSB Clm 19490).
18. *Accessus ad auctores*, ed. Huygens 1970 (from BSB Clm 19475), 29–38.
19. Mews 2014.
20. *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres*; also ed. by Webb 1941.
21. Becker, *Catalogi*, 199–200, no. 86.
22. See Riché 1988.
23. On connections between science and new theological thinking in Normandy, see Gasper and Wallis 2004.

24. Giacone 1974, 42, identifies nineteen donations of books, but most are very small; *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres* 3. 225; also *Obituaires de la Province de Sens* 2. 71.
25. Ibid. (2 June).
26. *Cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Chartres* 3. 108 (mistakenly reporting forty-five rather than fifty-five vols.); *Obituaires de la Province de Sens* 2. 206.
27. The preface is edited by Jeaneau; see also Lejbowicz 2003.
28. Nortier 1971, 39–42.
29. On the broader contribution of Petrus Alphonsi, Adelard of Bath and their contemporaries, see Burnett 1997 and Chapter 15 of the present volume.
30. For an overview of this group of translators, see Burnett 2011.
31. Burman 2007, 14–7; Burnett 2011.
32. Bertolacci 2011.
33. Ivo of Chartres, *Decretum*, Prol.: PL 161. 47B.
34. On their influence, see Giraud 2010, 331–405.
35. Stirnemann 1994, 262.
36. Thomson 1995 and Smith 2013.
37. Robert of Melun, *Sententiae*, Prefatio, 15.
38. Thomson 1995, 242–3.
39. See the correction in Abelard, *Theologia christiana* 1. 28 (*Petri Abaelardi Opera Theologica* 2. 83).
40. Dominique Poirel re-dates the *Didascalicon* to 1121 in Poirel 2011, esp. 307–9.
41. See the introduction to Abelard's *Theologia* 'Scholarium' in *Petri Abaelardi Opera Theologica* 3. 245–6, and Stirnemann 1998. While the poor text of Abelard's *Theologia* in the Arsenal manuscript makes it unlikely to be the actual manuscript owned by Peter Lombard, as suggested by Stirnemann (*Petri Abaelardi Opera Theologica* 3. 264–6), it could have been copied by a student drawing on copies belonging to Peter Lombard; on its list of books borrowed from the library of *magister P. episcopus*, see n. 56.
42. Moore 1998, 76–89.
43. *Ysagoge*; see also Luscombe 1968.
44. An English student added a record of otherwise unattested glosses of Abelard to BL Cotton Faustina A. X, copied in 1148 in the region of Worcester and Gloucester, alongside copying various moralistic texts; see Burnett and Luscombe 2005 and Álvarez López 2012.
45. Excerpts from the *Contra Salomitas*, preserved in complete form (along with an exchange of verses with Roger, archbishop of York) only in a fifteenth-century copy, Bodl. Libr. Hatton 92, are edited by James.
46. William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* 118. 2–3 (392–4).
47. Lieftinck 1955.
48. Wilmart 1923; Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda 1992, 107–9.
49. Malacek 1981, 64 and 72.
50. *La Chronique de Morigny*, 53–4.
51. Garland, *Candela*. His teaching on the Eucharist was questioned by Hugh Metel: Mews 2001, esp. n. 50.

52. See my introduction to *Petri Abaelardi Opera Theologica* 3. 210–7 and 268.
53. Bernard, *Ep.* 192, in *Bernardi Opera Omnia*, 8. 43–4.
54. William of St-Thierry, *Ep.* 326, *PL* 182. 531BC.
55. Cited by Brady in his Prolegomena to Peter Lombard, *Sententiae*, I/1. 19*.
56. Stirnemann 1998; see n. 41.
57. The text given here is that edited by Stirnemann 1998 (302), which improves on that offered in CCCM 13, 243–7: 'Hec est summa librorum quod Gaufridus Moricii portauit [de libris m[agistri] P. episcopi]: O[uidium] de arte, O[uidium] Heroidum, . . ., librum Maximiani, librum Auiani, librum Pamphili, Stacium Achilleidos, O[uidium] de Ponto imperfectum, epistolas Oracii imperfectas, O[uidium] Metamorphoseos imperfectum, tres libros Lucani, duos libros Iuuenalis, Virgilium, glosas Catonis et Teodoli, et O[uidio] de . . . sine titulo, bucolica et novem quaternulos. (b) Deinde, quando iuit Parisius, tulit secum Apocalypsim Iohannis, epistolas canonicas, lamentations Ieremie, et Claudianum et duos Priscianos. R. uero presbyter misit postea magistro P. per Willelmum de Fonte Morini, xv quaternulos et per P. clericum xx, postmodum uero per G. canonicum xliii quaternulos de sententiis et alios super psalmos compilatos, et vi volumina Pentateuchum uero Moysi, et iiii euangelistas et librum Ezechielis, et dedit fratribus de habitu. Hystoriam euangelicam retinuit et quaternulum de notulis et Berhardinum.'
58. Stirnemann 1998, 306.
59. Ibid., 309, suggesting that the same scribe produced an early copy of Peter Lombard's glosses on St Paul (BnF lat. 7246), another copy of the *Sentences* (Oxford, St John's Coll. 49), given to Hilary, bishop of Chichester (d. 1169), and an account of the miracles of St Victor (Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal 939).
60. Dronke 1979 questions the usual view that *Pamphilus* originated in the Loire valley, suggesting that it came from south-eastern Germany in the late eleventh century.
61. Mews 2007.
62. Rahewin, *Gesta Friderici* 4. 14 (250).
63. Becker, *Catalogi*, 233, no. 103; *MBKDS* I. 32–3.

CHAPTER 6

The Libraries of Religious Houses

Teresa Webber

The period between the late eleventh century and end of the twelfth witnessed significant expansion in the manuscript holdings of religious communities. Collections similar in scope had been formed during the Carolingian period, but their number, geographical density and spread by the end of the twelfth century reflect the extraordinary increase in religious foundations and benefactions to existing communities across Western Europe that took place from ca. 1000.¹ The broad contours of developments in the contents of the collections of male communities during this period are already well known: significant expansion in the holdings of the Church Fathers and, in many communities, of the pagan authors of ancient Rome, as well as the introduction of texts, commentaries and other compendia and tools associated with the schools.² Detailed study of these developments at a local and regional level, however, remains incomplete: a consequence not only of variation in the scale of loss and dispersal of the books themselves but also of the limited extent to which the surviving evidence has been collated and edited.³ It is therefore not yet possible to present a fine-grained synthesis that traces variation in the chronology, pace and scale of these developments across Latin Europe, and differences of emphasis in the texts acquired by individual houses. Further work is also required to establish the extent to which particular patterns of acquisition and practice can be identified that were common to either a particular region or monastic affiliation, or that point to other, perhaps more personal networks.⁴ For the most part, the holdings of religious houses across Latin Europe during this period comprised a common core of the same or closely similar texts. Significant variation from house to house is most likely to have been either one of scale, conditioned by differing economic circumstances, or of scope, perhaps largely determined by the interests of individual members of the community or external benefactors, whose personal collections (discussed in Chapter 5) often made their way into the communal holdings. This chapter

goes beyond the individual volumes and categories of text (which are examined in other chapters) to focus upon the overarching concept of a library in this period, and to investigate whether the expansion in the scale and scope of the holdings of religious houses was accompanied by any significant change in the ways in which they were perceived and used. This is a question which has rarely been posed, but which is fundamental to any inquiry that uses manuscripts and their contents as evidence for the spiritual and intellectual activities of religious communities.⁵ It will be addressed in this chapter, first, through an examination of the terminology used to refer to the communal holdings, in conjunction with the material evidence for their physical organisation, and second, through an analysis of the evidence provided by monastic customaries and other written sources concerning those to whom the custody of the books was assigned and their range of responsibilities. These material and written sources reveal the presence of shared practices and perceptions within the different monastic traditions and across Latin Europe. They also show that, despite developments in the storage of the books (in response to their increasing numbers), there was underlying continuity throughout this period in the understanding of what constituted a library: a resource that served the liturgical and devotional as well as the intellectual requirements of the community. Furthermore, of all these requirements, it was the provision of books for the communal observances in the choir, chapterhouse and refectory that was given most emphasis in the duties of the person to whom custody of the library was assigned.

The Library as Idea and Physical Entity in the Twelfth Century

Twelfth-century references to libraries as physical structures or discrete spaces are rare. William of Malmesbury provides an unusually evocative example in the preface to his *Abbreviatio Amalarii*, in which he recalls the occasion that prompted him to undertake the task of abbreviating Amalarius of Metz's lengthy, allegorical exposition of the liturgy, at the request of a junior monk named Robert:

For lately, when we were sitting in our library ['bibliotheca'], and each of us turned the pages of our books for the purpose of study, you were struggling with Amalarius' *De ecclesiasticis officiis*. Since you recognised the subject-matter from the very first sight of the title, you embraced the opportunity to breathe life into your training in the rudiments of your new profession, but the complexity of its interpretations and the difficulty of its vocabulary affected your spirit's zeal, and you asked me to make a digest of it.⁶

The vignette is unusual for its description of a library as a physical space in which books were read, rather than as a term for the holdings themselves. The 'bibliotheca' to which William refers, however, is most unlikely to have been a room set aside specifically for books and reading, but was almost certainly simply an area within the cloister galleries in close proximity to the cupboards housing the community's principal book collections. Library rooms or buildings specially designated for both the storage and consultation of books had been a creation of the ancient world,⁷ but were not reintroduced to Western Europe until the thirteenth century, and were widely adopted by monastic communities only in the fifteenth.⁸ Nevertheless, the great libraries of antiquity, such as the public and papal libraries of Rome, were known to William and his contemporaries from such texts as Isidore's *Libri etymologiarum* (Book VI. 3, 'De bibliothecis') and the histories of Suetonius and Eusebius. This knowledge may perhaps explain the evocation of a library in apparently discrete spatial terms, even if this was not the physical reality. The heading to a twelfth-century catalogue of the books of the Norman abbey of St-Évroult, for example, states: 'These are the books which are contained in the library ['in bibliotheca'] of St Évroult'.⁹ The synonym, 'librarium', was also used in this way, as in a late twelfth-century record from the Benedictine community of Michelsberg, near Bamberg: 'Hi sunt libri quos Rutgerus in librario invenit sub Wulframo abbate' ('These are the books that Ruotger found in the library during the abbacy of Wulfram' (1172–1201)).¹⁰ The more physically dispersed reality, however, is made explicit in a late twelfth-century set of customs from the English Benedictine abbey of Abingdon, in which the 'bibliotheca' as a whole is assigned to the custody of the cantor, but more specific reference is also made to the separate cupboards ('almaria') in which the books were stored.¹¹ This physical reality is also reflected in the continued widespread use of the term 'armarium' (or variant forms) also to refer collectively to a community's books,¹² as well as its derivative, 'armarius', to designate the office of the person given custody of the books.¹³ The customs compiled by Abbot William (d. 1091) for the German abbey of Hirsau, for example, and his principal source, the Cluniac customs recorded for him by Ulrich of Zell, explain that the title 'armarius' derives from the fact that the library ('bibliotheca'), which was customarily in the hands of this officer, was also known as the 'armarium'.¹⁴ Books, however, were understood to be so central to the spiritual economy of the community that, as with the other essential resources – the buildings, relics, vestments, altar vessels and other furnishings – a special term was not always required. It was sufficient to describe them simply as 'the books', as in the following headings: 'Isti sunt libri ecclesiae sancti Nycolai' (a mid-twelfth-century list of the holdings of

the Augustinian canons of St Nicholas, Passau),¹⁵ and 'Hii sunt libri qui continentur in Radingensi Ecclesia' (the formal record of the books of the English Benedictine abbey of Reading included in its late twelfth-century cartulary).¹⁶

The physical locations for books reflect their centrality to the communal religious life. By the twelfth century, throughout much of Latin Europe, they were usually kept in the cloister, at or near the junction between the outer wall of the nave of the church and the south (or north) transept (depending on local topography).¹⁷ The four-sided cloister as the usual physical arrangement at the heart of the monastic enclosure and the principal site of communal monastic observance was first articulated during the Carolingian monastic reforms of the early ninth century, but did not immediately become widely adopted.¹⁸ During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the spread of monastic observances inspired by both the practices and written customs of houses associated with various currents of monastic reform that had begun in the tenth century (especially those of Cluny) and by those of the newly emerging orders and congregations of monks and regular canons – the Hirsau congregation, the Cistercians, Carthusians, Victorines, Premonstratensians and Arrouaisians – contributed to its widespread adoption throughout Latin Europe. It was positioned with one range adjacent the nave to the south or the north, the east range incorporating the south (or north) transept, with the chapterhouse beyond, and the refectory on the far side, facing the church. This arrangement contrasts with the more dispersed structures of the earlier Middle Ages, and which continued to characterise, for example, Irish monastic enclosures until the arrival of the Augustinian canons and Cistercian monks in the twelfth century.¹⁹ The cloister, together with the buildings that opened onto it, thus provided an enclosed space within which the daily communal observance took place, and was perceived in various ways to represent the spiritual ideals of the monastic life.²⁰

Later rebuilding and, in many cases, subsequent destruction have obliterated the twelfth-century evidence at the great majority of monastic sites, while much of what survives has not been (or cannot be) very closely dated. Thus far, extensive archaeological and architectural study has been confined largely to Cistercian houses in France.²¹ Nevertheless it is clear from this evidence, and from studies of individual houses of other monastic traditions, that arrangements for the storage of books differed from house to house and were subject to modification over time.²² The first phase of building at new foundations may have comprised, wholly or partially, wooden structures, with or without a full cloister.²³ The books were generally stored in one or more recesses (with grooves and rebates to

accommodate shelves and doors) set into either the west-facing wall of the transept or adjacent sacristy/vestry, as, for example, at the Cistercian abbeys of Boquen (Côtes-d'Armor) and Escaladieu (Hautes-Pyrénées),²⁴ or the outer wall of the nave, as at La Garde-Dieu (Tarn-et-Garonne) where a series of six twin round-arched recesses with grooves for shelves survived until 1984.²⁵ The dimensions vary, but none of these recesses is large: for example, at the Cistercian house of Silvanès (Aveyron) they are 3 m high by 2.85 m wide and only 0.75 m deep,²⁶ and at Escaladieu (Figure 6.1), 1.57 m high, 0.96 m wide and 1.30 m deep.²⁷ The earliest principal repository for books at the Augustinian house of St-Victor in Paris seems to have consisted of one or more recesses in a stone wall: its customary, the *Liber ordinis* (dating from before 1139) prescribes that the book-cupboard ('armarium') be lined with wood in order to prevent damage from damp.²⁸ The lack of any contemporary lists of the contents of a surviving wall recess makes it difficult to establish the number of volumes that could be accommodated. Estimates must take into account the fact that, during the Middle Ages, books were stored flat rather than upright, and must allow for the varying dimensions of different kinds of volume and different forms of binding: simple wrappers or wooden boards, the latter perhaps with projecting metal furnishings or over-covers.²⁹



Figure 6.1 Recesses for books in the cloister at Escaladieu. Photograph by the author.

It is not known whether these wall recesses were supplemented by free-standing wooden chests or cupboards in the cloisters or close by in the church or elsewhere.³⁰ No such furniture dating earlier than the thirteenth century is known to have survived. The late eleventh-century *Chronica maiora* of the Benedictine abbey of St-Wandrille (Seine-Maritime) contains a pictorial representation of a chest with its lid propped open, in which books are visible, but its location is not depicted, and the image may reflect an older pictorial tradition rather than contemporary practice.³¹ Supplementary arrangements are likely to have differed from community to community in response to local needs. A set of glossed books of the Bible acquired by Abbot Simon (1167–83) for the abbey of St Albans, for example, was accommodated in a special painted cupboard Roger the hermit in the abbey church near the shrine of Roger the Hermit, providing both secure storage and a visually prominent means of ensuring the commemoration of the donor.³² It was also common practice for certain kinds of liturgical book to be kept elsewhere. The most precious books – those with treasure bindings and other volumes used by those performing a sacerdotal role (as celebrant, deacon or subdeacon) in the liturgy of the Mass – were usually kept with the other liturgical ‘ornamenta’ in the sacristy/treasury.³³ Volumes used daily in other locations, and not required for any other purpose, might also be kept *in situ*. The late twelfth-century catalogue of the books of Reading Abbey records the presence of breviaries in the ‘capella claustrī’, the ‘capella abbatis’, the guest-house and the infirmary, as well as a plenary missal, sacramentary, gospel book, epistolary and two graduals in the ‘capella abbatis Ioseph’, and a plenary missal, sacramentary, epistolary and breviary in the ‘capella abbatis de Hida’.³⁴

During the second half of the twelfth century, the holdings of some communities had grown so much as to necessitate new arrangements to accommodate significantly larger numbers of books than the wall recesses. These too were located at or near the junction of the church and the transept. At the Cistercian house of Fontfroide (Aude), for example, a small room, 3.20 m wide and 2.75 m deep, was formed in the space under the stair connecting the church to the dormitory at the far east end of the south cloister gallery.³⁵ A more widely adopted solution, and one that allowed for the creation of a larger room, was to customise part of the space in the east cloister gallery between the end of the transept and the chapterhouse. Where a sacristy or vestry already existed here, the part of the chamber fronting onto the cloister was adapted as a book room (Figure 6.2). At La Garde-Dieu, for example, a room 5.80 m wide and 3.70 m deep replaced or supplemented the recesses in the west-facing wall of the transept.³⁶ Cistercian houses were not the only ones to deploy this area in such a way. At the cathedral priory of

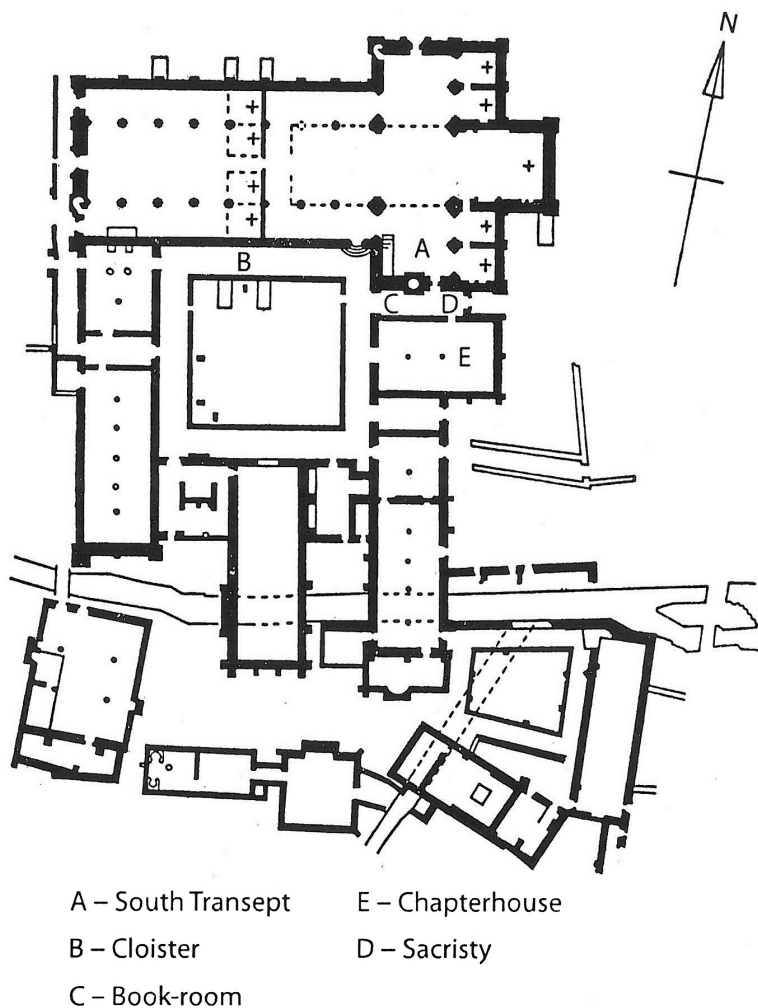


Figure 6.2 Ground plan of Roche Abbey. Adapted from R. Gilyard-Beer, *Abbeys: An Introduction to the Religious Houses of England and Wales* (London, 1958).

Christ Church, Canterbury, a passageway between the end of the transept and the chapterhouse was closed off at the east end to form a book room sometime between 1160 and the 1220s.³⁷ Local circumstances sometimes required more unusual solutions. At Winchester Cathedral Priory it may have been a lack of ground-floor space beyond the end of the south transept

that led to a room for the storage of books being built onto it at first-floor level. Eight arched recesses (1.4 m in height) were constructed within the recesses of the two earlier windows, replacing or supplementing a series of recesses (now filled in) at ground-floor level in the wall between the entrance to the chapterhouse and the church.³⁸ Despite their greater size, the new book rooms functioned in essentially the same way as the earlier wall recesses: as secure places of storage, under the custody of a designated officer.³⁹ Their introduction need not have been accompanied by a significantly different conception of their holdings.

The organisation of books within the cloister recesses and book rooms is extremely difficult to establish. Elements of author or subject classification in a number of twelfth-century booklists cannot be assumed to reflect spatial organisation and may only represent long-established hierarchies of authority or textual categorisation.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, two late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century booklists from Rievaulx Abbey may provide evidence that such concepts and categories could have had a bearing (at least in part) upon the groupings of volumes upon the shelves. In both lists the entries are arranged in alphabetically labelled sections, which perhaps denote individual cupboards within the book room – an arrangement made explicit in a late medieval catalogue from the Yorkshire Cistercian abbey of Meaux.⁴¹ The sections labelled B and C comprise volumes containing Augustine; section D, Bernard, Anselm and Ailred; section I, Bede; section N, homiliaries and passionals, and section P, glossed books of the Bible. The contents of other sections, however, are (or became) more diverse in their authorship and subject-matter. If these lists do represent the contents of Rievaulx's book room (which by this date formed the cloister-facing half of a structure between the transept and chapterhouse), then they are valuable evidence of the numbers of volumes that such rooms could accommodate: in this instance, more than 220.⁴²

The evidence of customaries and booklists suggests that patterns of use rather than textual categories were the more dominant principle underlying the physical organisation of the books. The late twelfth-century customs of Abingdon Abbey, for example, refer to 'almaria puerorum, iuvenum', which presumably housed the various kinds of book used in the education and training of the boys, youths and novices.⁴³ More plentiful evidence, however, survives of the practice of reserving as a special, non-borrowable collection those books that were required on a daily basis for the purposes of rehearsing (and then delivering) the public reading within and outside the liturgy, and for

the singers to rehearse the chants. These are known in several twelfth-century customaries as the 'libri communes', and the introduction of special arrangements restricting their use may have been a twelfth-century development.⁴⁴ They included bespoke liturgical books (such as graduals and antiphoners, which contained the chants for the Mass and the Office), as well as other books whose contents were in calendrical sequence, such as homiliaries and passionals, but whose purpose was not exclusively liturgical.⁴⁵ But among the books read aloud in the annual cycles of reading in the Night Office and in the refectory were also the Bible, patristic biblical commentaries and treatises, and, in the evening collation, the writings and Lives of the desert fathers.⁴⁶ These were the same texts that formed the core of the personal reading of monks and canons; where a community possessed only a single copy, that volume must have seen more than one kind of use. In the *Liber ordinis* of St-Victor (the earliest surviving text to describe the *libri communes* in detail), such books are deemed 'maiores', since they were especially useful and necessary for the instruction and edification of the canons.⁴⁷ Although their placement among the *libri communes* meant that they could not be removed from the cloister, there was no prohibition on their use there for personal study and devotion. From their treatment in the *Liber ordinis* and other customaries, it is clear that the *libri communes* were regarded as the most important collection of books within the wider holdings of the community. The range of books they encompassed strongly suggests that the modern conception of a library – as constituting books specifically for personal study, distinct from all those used within the liturgy and other communal observances – did not apply in the twelfth century. The books used in teaching of grammar and the other liberal arts might comprise a physically discrete collection, but the books used for biblical study and consideration of theological and doctrinal questions were not distinguished from those used for oral delivery in the choir, refectory and chapterhouse; the same volume might serve more than one purpose. For example, it is not uncommon for copies of certain patristic texts such as Gregory's homilies on the gospels or his commentary on Ezekiel to contain marginal annotation denoting passages to be read aloud in the Night Office of Matins.⁴⁸ Further evidence for the absence at this date of a single bipartite division between liturgical and non-liturgical books survives in the written descriptions of the duties of and resources allocated to those assigned overarching custody of the library.

The Custody of Books

The period from the late eleventh century onwards is significant for the widespread adoption of the practice, first traceable in the eleventh-century Cluniac customaries, of combining the duties of the *armarius* (the office to which custody of books and responsibility for the liturgical and non-liturgical readings had been assigned in monastic customaries of the late tenth and earlier eleventh centuries) with that of the cantor (the person with overall responsibility for the sung elements of the liturgy).⁴⁹ This combination of roles may have been prompted both by the increasing practice of recording in writing the melodic component as well as the texts of the chants and by a heightened concern to assign the correct sets of proper chants and readings to the appropriate days, weeks, months and seasons over the course of each liturgical year. This was a highly complex process of alignment that required adjustment each year in order to accommodate the variable date of Easter and the different correlations of calendrical dates with the days of the week.⁵⁰ It may not always have been possible to find someone sufficiently expert to fulfil both roles adequately. Some customaries allowed for a temporary separation of the two roles, should the cantor not be suited to the office of *armarius*,⁵¹ while the twelfth-century customs of the canons of Prémontré departed from contemporary norms in keeping the two offices distinct.⁵²

Late eleventh- and twelfth-century customaries use either one or both of the existing titles, 'cantor' (or 'precantor'/'precentor') and 'armarius', to describe the combined role,⁵³ and describe a broadly similar range of responsibilities. The choice of wording frequently reflects textual borrowing between the different religious traditions.⁵⁴ As far as the library is concerned, the cantor-*armarius* was given custody of all the books of the community. This is either stated explicitly, as in the Cluniac-influenced customs Lanfranc compiled for his community at Christ Church, Canterbury, and in the similarly worded Victorine *Liber ordinis*,⁵⁵ or by implication from the responsibilities assigned.⁵⁶ It is only the closely related customaries of Ulrich of Zell and William of Hirsau that refer to the 'bibliotheca' in their description of the role of cantor-*armarius*.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, the close association between his custody of the books, the holdings themselves and the library as a physical space can be inferred from the continued widespread use of the related terms 'armarius' and 'armarium', as noted earlier. It is also reflected in a thirteenth-century narrative from Christ Church, Canterbury, which refers to the recently created book room between the transept and the chapterhouse as the 'armariolum . . . in

quo libri praecentoris includuntur' ('the armarium in which the precentor's books are kept').⁵⁸

Custody of the books involved not only their distribution on a daily and (for those communities that followed the practice of the Lenten distribution as set out in the Rule of St Benedict) annual basis⁵⁹ but also, when necessary, their correction.⁶⁰ Indeed, according to the customs of St-Victor, only the *armarius* (or those authorised by him) was permitted to make any alteration to the books – whether deletions, additions or corrections.⁶¹ Documentary evidence for the allocation of specific resources to the cantor-*armarius* also frequently specifies both the correction and repair of the books.⁶² In the customaries, however, special emphasis is placed upon the preparation of the books of chant and those used for public reading. These were to be carefully corrected and, where necessary, punctuated, so that those to whom they were distributed each day for rehearsal in the cloister would not stumble when singing or reading aloud.⁶³ Several customaries couple the cantor-*armarius*' duty to correct the books with the *armarius*' long-standing responsibility to show the readers where to end their readings, and himself (or a deputy) to hear them rehearse.⁶⁴

Twelfth-century customaries thus make clear that books used within or in preparation for the performance of the liturgy and other communal observances were a core component of 'the library' for which the cantor-*armarius* had responsibility. Nevertheless, one particular category of liturgical book came to be excluded from the remit of the cantor-*armarius* during the twelfth century. These were the books used by the officiants (the celebrant, deacon and subdeacon) in the celebration of the Mass, and which came increasingly to be specified, along with the other ornaments and furnishings of the church itself, as the responsibility of the sacrist. The late eleventh-century customs Lanfranc compiled for Canterbury assign to the sacrist custody of 'all the ornaments and utensils and furnishings of the church', but without specifying what they comprised.⁶⁵ Some twelfth-century customs, however, do so, and list the 'textus' – the term commonly used to refer to the gospel book carried in procession – alongside the candelabra and other ecclesiastical paraphernalia.⁶⁶ Some customaries go further. The Victorine *Liber ordinis* includes among the 'ornamenta' in the care of the sacrist not only the gospel books but all of the books used in the service of the altar, and which were kept in the treasury (or sacristy): the missals, epistolaries and gospel books.⁶⁷ In the late twelfth-century customs from Abingdon Abbey, the books officiants used in the Mass are excluded from the allowance made to the cantor to inspect books during the canonical hours and Mass.⁶⁸ An early thirteenth-century customary of the

English Benedictine abbey of Eynsham repeats this allowance and its restriction word for word, and then makes its implications explicit by reserving to the care of the sacrist all of these books (missals, gospel books and epistolaries), as well as lectionaries and books for the guest house, and benedictionals.⁶⁹ Further evidence that this category of book was conceived as a part of the sacristy and distinct from the library survives in a catalogue of books drawn up in 1165 at the German Benedictine abbey of Prüfening. It provides a commemorative record of those things in the sacristy ('sacrarium') and library ('armaria') that had been acquired through the gift of divine grace and the munificence of the abbey's founder and abbots.⁷⁰ The books of the sacristy (the missals, benedictionals and other altar books) are listed first, together with the other ecclesiastical objects and furnishings, and are described as representing the clothing ('togas') of spiritual joy and sacred devotion – evoking the visual element of their role within the liturgy. The importance of the books of the *armaria*, however, lay wholly in their contents, which are described as constituting the spiritual arms of the community.⁷¹

Clastrum sine armario, quasi castrum sine armamentario

The Prüfening catalogue's use of the punning metaphor of arms ('arma') for the books in its *armarium* echoes the saying included in a letter of a Norman Augustinian canon, Geoffroy de Breteuil (d. 1194): 'A cloister without a library is like a castle without an armoury'. Although evidence has yet to be found for the wider circulation of this dictum,⁷² its sentiment can be regarded as axiomatic. Its assertion that a library was essential to the proper functioning of a religious community is all the more self-evident given that twelfth-century conceptions of a library continued to encompass all (or almost all) of the books required to fulfil the precepts of the *Regula Sancti Benedicti* and the *Regula Sancti Augustini* (one or other of which underpinned the religious observance of all communities of monks and regular canons by this date). Nevertheless, although the fundamental conception of a library had not changed, various impulses contributed to stimulate more intense activity in recording the communal ownership of the books which comprised it.⁷³ The various means employed – inscriptions of ownership and donation in the books themselves; inventories of the holdings; narrative records of donation and acquisition embedded within local, national or even universal histories – all have their precedents in the earlier Middle Ages (and especially during the Carolingian period),⁷⁴ but the cumulative effect of these efforts was to sharpen the distinction

between institutional ownership and temporary, personal possession (a distinction fully articulated by the friars in the thirteenth century) and thus, in principle (if not wholly in practice), endow their library with a greater level of stability.

One important impulse was the increasingly common and sometimes acrimonious practice of separating the property and revenues of the abbot (and sometimes other leading office holders) from those of the community as a whole.⁷⁵ Abbots and other members of the community continued to be recorded in narrative histories and in inventories as donors of books and other resources to their communities throughout the twelfth century and beyond, but such records may have played a dual role: a means not only of commemorating their benefactions but also of providing testimony of the institution's ownership. The issue of communal ownership was further complicated by the increasing numbers of adult recruits who brought personal possessions (including books) with them. Permission may have been granted for such men to continue to use their books, but ownership, in principle, now lay with the institution. Thomas of Marlborough (d. 1236), for example, in his history of his abbey of Evesham, recording the prolonged dispute over property and revenues between the community and Roger Norreis, abbot from 1189 to 1213, also recorded his own benefactions to the community as prior and subsequently abbot.⁷⁶ He distinguished between the books he brought with him on entering the community and those he commissioned after becoming prior,⁷⁷ presumably drawing upon the revenues assigned by custom at Evesham to the office of prior, specifically for the purchase of parchment and the maintenance of scribes.⁷⁸ Among the former were 'books of both branches of the law, canon and civil, which he had used before becoming a monk, when he lectured in the schools at Oxford and Exeter'.⁷⁹ He doubtless continued to make use of these when he presented the abbey's case to the curia at Rome, defending its rights of exemption against Mauger, bishop of Worcester from 1202 to 1212.

A second significant impulse, which became increasingly pressing during the later twelfth century and beyond, was the recognition of the potential for books borrowed and taken beyond the walls of the cloister not to be returned. It may be no coincidence that the earliest and most detailed records designating the *libri communes* as a closed, non-borrowable collection are found in the customs of communities of regular canons, whose practice of the religious life was more likely to entail activity beyond the abbey walls. By the second half of the century, growing numbers of monks as well as canons were required to engage in secular and ecclesiastical affairs (often in

defence of the property and privileges of their own communities) or were travelling to study at the schools of higher learning, thus increasing the potential for books to stray. The increasingly widespread practice of entering inscriptions of ownership that incorporated elaborate anthemas may, at least in part, reflect such concern. By the beginning of the thirteenth century, it had become a requirement for the canons of St-Victor to record a standard *ex libris* inscription in the books they copied since entering the abbey.⁸⁰ The proximity of St-Victor to the emerging university of Paris, and a population of masters and students who required access to books, may well have made the issue of borrowing especially acute for the canons. Some communities reacted by restricting still further the practice of loans, to the extent that, in 1212, the Council at Paris forbade such prohibitions (including the imposition of anathemas), arguing that the loan of books to the poor was a very special work of mercy.⁸¹ Stephen Langton, a Paris theologian and later archbishop of Canterbury (1207–28), went even further in his commentary on the fifth commandment, ‘Thou shall not kill’, asserting that ‘not to lend books is a type of homicide’.⁸²

Conclusion

Any comparison between the contents of the libraries of religious houses at the beginning and end of the twelfth century will reveal a striking increase in the number of volumes and the range of their contents. That growth came about in part through the deliberate enhancement of the existing resources and in part through the unplanned absorption of the books acquired by adult recruits, some of whom had studied at the Continental schools. Nevertheless, a study of the libraries of religious houses that examines them primarily through the lens of the intellectual developments that have been characterised as ‘the Twelfth-Century Renaissance’ will be incomplete and anachronistic. The twelfth century witnessed the culmination of a process that had begun with the reforms of the Carolingian period, was reinvigorated during the tenth century and gathered pace during the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries: namely the establishment of a communal library as a more permanent entity, reinforced in different communities to varying degrees by written expressions of ownership. It has been suggested that this in itself constituted a new conception of the library.⁸³ If so, it was one steeped in long-standing ideals and precedents.

Notes

1. Constable 1996, 65, 88–91.
2. Bischoff, *Latin Palaeography*, 213–8. The book collections of female communities, or of the nuns and canonesses in double houses, have received less attention, and the evidence is more exiguous: Webber 2006, 117–8; Beach, *Women as Scribes*, 68–84, 105–9; Golding 1995, 177–87.
3. For surveys and overviews at the national level, see Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda 1994; Munk Olsen; Bondéelle 1989; Becquet 1989; Webber 2006; Thomson 2012. For two preliminary regional surveys that illustrate the different challenges faced and how they might be addressed, see Mews 2002; González 2015. Much of the evidence for Spain survives only as fragments; this is even more dramatically the case for the Nordic countries: see, for example, Brunius 2005; Karlsen 2013. The collation of the evidence of surviving books and medieval lists of books in institutional ownership is most complete for Britain: Ker 1964 (see also www.mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk) and the ongoing volumes of *CBMLC*. For the booklists from Germany and Switzerland: Krämer 1989–90 and *MBKDS*; from Austria, *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge*; and from Belgium, Derolez. For an online portal to digitised materials for the study of Austrian medieval manuscripts and libraries, see also <http://manuscripta.at>. A project to provide descriptive handlists of Italian booklists is under way: Fiesoli (ed.) 2009–, *RICABIM*. For the current state of research in France, and the IHRT's project, see 'BibliFram': www.libraria.fr/sites/default/files/BibliFram%20programme%20scientifique%20opr%20Libraria.pdf.
4. See, for example, Falmagne 2000.
5. But see also Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda 2013. On common elements and emphases in different streams of monastic reform and their shared inheritance of late antique and early medieval ideals, see Constable 1996, esp. 169–208.
6. 'Nuper enim cum in bibliotheca nostra sederemus et quisque pro studio libros evolveret, impegisti in Amalarium De ecclesiasticis officiis. Cuius cum materiam ex prima statim tituli fronte cognosceres, amplexus es occasionem qua rudimenta nove professionis animares, sed quia confestim animi tui alacritatem turbavit testimoniorum perplexitas et sermonum asperitas, rogasti ut eum abreviarem.' Pfaff 1981, 128.
7. Casson 2001; Lapidge 2006, 5–22.
8. Gameson 2006; Prache 1989; Lehmann 1957; Clark 1901.
9. BnF lat. 10062, f. 80v, 'Hec sunt volumina qui in bibliotheca Sancti Ebrulfi continentur': Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda 1994, 207 and 255, pl. 4.
10. *MBKDS* 3/3, 366.
11. 'Bibliotheca erit sub cantoris custodia': 'De obedientiariis', 373; 'Cantor almaria puerorum, iuvenum, et alia in quibus libri conventus reponentur, innovabit, fracta praeparabit, pannos librorum bibliothecae reperiet, fracturas librorum reficiet.' *Ibid.*, 371.
12. For this use of the term between the ninth and twelfth centuries (and beyond), see Genest 1989, 141–9.

13. The late tenth-century customs of Fleury describe the custodian of the books as 'armarius'; he was also the schoolmaster: 'Armarius, qui et scole preceptor vel librarius': *Consuetudines Floriacenses*, 16. For eleventh- and twelfth-century use of the term, see Vernet 1989, 165–6.
14. 'Praecentor (qui: *om.* Ulrich) et armarius, *armarii* nomen obtinuit, eo quod in eius manu solet esse bibliotheca, quae et in (in: *add.* Ulrich) alio nomine *armarium* appellatur.' William of Hirsau, *Constitutiones* 2. 113; Ulrich of Zell, *Consuetudines Cluniacenses*, 748.
15. *MBKDS*, 4/1, 53, no. 11.
16. *CBMLC* 4, 421 (B71).
17. For French Cistercian houses with the cloister located to the south of the church, and those (somewhat less numerous) with the cloister to the north, see Aubert 1947, 1. 112 n. 1.
18. Horn 1973.
19. Ó Néill 2006, 84–6.
20. Meyvaert 1973; Pressouyre 1973; de Jong 2000; Klein 2004.
21. Aubert 1947, 2. 39–47; Kinder 2002; Robinson 2006. Detailed studies of the remains at individual Cistercian houses include Swartling 1969; Fergusson and Harrison 1999; Coppack 2009.
22. The various phases of adaptation are usually no longer visible or yet to be uncovered. For structural modifications at the Cistercian abbey of Bordesley revealed by the horizontal stratigraphy of the remains, see Hirst, Walsh and Wright 1983, 116–22.
23. Coppack 2009, 22–5.
24. Aubert 1947, 2. 40–1, fig. 338; Kinder 2002, pl. 5/iv, B and D.
25. A photographic record is all that remains: Bondéelle 1989, 67.
26. Aubert 1947, 2. 40.
27. Masson 1972, 10.
28. 'Ipsium autem armarium intrinsecus ligno uestitum esse debet, ne humor parietum membranas rubigine aliqua siue humectatione aliqua inficiat': *Liber Ordinis*, 78.
29. Note, for example, the forty-odd 'parvi libelli' (booklets probably with just some form of parchment wrapper) among the contents of the 'magnum armarium' recorded in a late twelfth-century booklist perhaps from the English Augustinian priory of Bridlington: *CBMLC* 6, 18–22 (A4.79–118).
30. Vezin 1989; Genest 1989.
31. Le Havre, Bibl. mun. 332, f. 41v: reproduced in Vezin, 364.
32. Matthew Paris, *Gesta Abbatum*, 59b (184): 'Whoever wishes to see those books will find them in the painted cupboard in the church opposite the tomb of holy Roger the Hermit, where the abbot himself ordered them to be placed. By contemplating them he will come to understand how great a lover of the Scriptures the abbot was' (Thomson, *St Albans*, 1. 52).
33. See, for example, the inclusion of the gospel books in treasure bindings among the vestments, vessels and other furnishings rather than with the books 'in

- armario' in a mid-twelfth-century description of the possessions of Ely Abbey: *Liber Eliensis*, III. 50.
34. *CBMLC* 4, 193–4, 198–201 (B71.146). For Joseph, abbot of Reading (el. 1173, resigned 1186, d. 1191), and Thomas, abbot of Hyde (el. 1175, resigned and retired to Reading, 1180), see Coates 1999, 20–1.
35. Aubert 1947, I. 41.
36. *Ibid.*, 42–3.
37. Ramsay 1995, 350–1.
38. Oakeshott 1954, 7–8, pls. IIIa–b, IVa. For the adaptation at Valcroissant (Drôme) of the last bay of the transept as a sacristy and book storeroom, see Aubert 1947, I. 174; 2. 44.
39. Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda 1997, 31–44.
40. Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda 1989.
41. *CBMLC* 3, Z19 and Z20 (Rievaulx); Z14 (Meaux).
42. Fergusson and Harrison 1999, 87.
43. 'De obedientiariis', 371.
44. Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda 1996, 258–60.
45. The customary in the Cistercian *Ecclesiastica Officia* specifies the following: 'pro communibus libris, scilicet antiphonariis, hymnariis, gradalibus, lectionario, collectaneo, kalendario et illis qui in refectorio et ad collationem leguntur'. Choisselet and Vernet 1989, 324 (ch. 115); repeated verbatim in the customs of the canons of Arrouaise: *Constitutiones Ordinis Arroasiensis*, 165.
46. Webber 2013, 226–38.
47. 'Debet etiam armarius inter hos libros, qui ad cotidianum officium ecclesiae necessarii sunt, etiam de aliis aliquot quos ad instructionem uel ad aedificationem fratrum magis commodos et necessarios esse perspexerit, in commune proponere, quales sunt bibliothecae et maiores expositiones et passionarii et uitae patrum et omeliarii': *Liber Ordinis*, 82.
48. For example, Cambridge, St John's Coll. B. 13 (35), a late eleventh-century copy of Gregory on Ezekiel from Bury St Edmunds, and Oxford, University Coll. 191, an English twelfth-century copy of Gregory's *Homiliae XL in Euangelia* of unknown Cistercian provenance, are both annotated with roman numerals demarcating passages to be read as lessons in Matins.
49. Fassler 1985, 39–51.
50. Webber 2017.
51. As, for example, in the customs drawn up in the late eleventh century by Archbishop Lanfranc for Christ Church, Canterbury: 'De uniuersis monasterii libris curam gerat, et eos in custodia sua habeat, si eius studii et scientie sit, ut eorum custodia ei commendari debeat': ('He [the cantor] takes care of all the books of the house, and has them in his keeping, if his interests and learning are such as to fit him for keeping them.'): Lanfranc, *Monastic Constitutions*, 122–3.
52. Van Waefelghem 1913, 28–9.

53. The Cluniac-influenced customs of William of Hirsau use both terms: 'Praecentor qui et armarius' (William of Hirsau, *Constitutiones*, 2. 113), while the Victorine *Liber Ordinis* retains 'armarius' (*Liber Ordinis*, 78). The Cistercian customary in the late twelfth-century *Ecclesiastica Officia* uses 'cantor' (Choisselet and Vernet 1989, 322 (ch. 115)).
54. For correspondences in the content and wording of the chapter on the office of cantor-armarius in the customs of the Cistercians, the canons of Premontre, of Arrouaise and of Oigny, see Lefèvre 1972, 803–7, *Coûtumier de l'abbaye d'Oigny*, xlix–lv.
55. 'De uniuerſis monasterii libris curam gerat, et eos in custodia sua habeat': Lanfranc, *Monastic Constitutions*, 122; 'Armarius omnes ecclesiae libros in custodia sua habet': *Liber Ordinis*, 78.
56. As in the Cistercian *Ecclesiastica Officia*, which specifies only particular duties rather than a general responsibility for the custody of the books: Choisselet and Vernet 1989, 322–4 (ch. 115).
57. 'in eius manu solet esse bibliotheca': Ulrich of Zell, 748; William of Hirsau, *Constitutiones*, 2. 113.
58. Gervase of Canterbury, 2. 121; Ramsay 1995, 350 n. 48.
59. The practice is also recorded in the customs of the canons of Arrouaise: *Constitutiones Ordinis Arroasiensis*, 165.
60. See, for example, the similarly worded customs of the Arrouasians and Premonstratensians: 'Ad eum etiam [eum etiam: armarium *Premonstr.*] pertinet libros custodire et emendare'. *Constituiones Ordinis Arroasiensis*, 165; Van Waefelghem 1913, 28. On the concern for textual accuracy (especially in the Bible and other texts delivered in the liturgy) as an aspect of twelfth-century reform ideals, see Constable 1996, 154–5.
61. 'Nemo alius praeter armarium, siue in his [i.e. the *libri communes*], siue in aliis quibuslibet libris uel demere, uel addere, uel mutare quicquam praesumat, nisi ei specialiter concessum fuerit uel iniunctum': *Liber Ordinis*, 82.
62. For evidence from twelfth-century England, see Gullick, 'Professional Scribes', 2–4, and Webber 2017.
63. 'quos (libros) praecipue armarius diligenter emendare debet et punctare, ne fratres in cotidiano officio ecclesiae, siue in cantando, siue in legendo, aliquod impedimentum inueniant': *Liber Ordinis*, 81–2.
64. As, for example, in the customs of the canons of Oigny: 'Ad eundem pertinet libros custodire et emendare, et fratribus cum necesse fuerit distribuere; lectiones ipse, vel alius ab eo monitus, terminare et auscultare': *Coûtumier de l'abbaye d'Oigny*, 49.
65. 'Ad secretarii officium pertinent, omnia ornamenta monasterii, et omnia instrumenta et suppellectilem, que ad ipsum monasterium pertinent, custodire; horas prouidere': Lanfranc, *Monastic Constitutions*, 122–3.
66. Webber 2017.
67. 'Ad officium sacristae pertinent omnia, quae in thesauro sunt, custodire: reliquias et omnia ornamenta altaris et sanctuarii ac totius ecclesiae, siue in auro, siue in argento, siue in ostro et palliis et tapetibus . . . calices et textus et

- cruces et thuribula et candelabra et cetera uasa, quae uel ad ministerium, uel ad ornatum altaris et sanctuarii totiusque ecclesiae pertinent, libros quoque missales, epistolares et euangelia': *Liber Ordinis*, 86–7.
68. 'Cantori licet sine reprehensione horis canonicis et ad missas in libros inspicere exceptis libris ad officium missae assignatis': 'De obedientiariis', 370.
 69. 'Sacrista tamen de missalibus, euangelariis, epistolariis curam gerat et lectionariis et libris hospitii et benedictionali': *Customary of Evesham*, 164–5.
 70. *MBKDS*, IV/1, 421–7, no. 41: 'hec sacrario nostro et armarie pertinere recognita sunt, et scriptus est liber hic monumenti in conspectu Domini'.
 71. 'Sed primum quidem spiritalis leticie et sacre devotionis togas cum ceteris utensilibus evolamus, deinde libros armarie nostre, in quibus uidelicet arma nostra, non carnalia sed spiritalia, Deo locata sunt, computemus'. *Ibid.*, 421–2.
 72. It owes its modern popularity to the inclusion of the letter in the *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, compiled and published by the French Benedictines, E. Martène and U. Durand ([Paris, 1717], 1. 510–2) and later repr. *PL* 205. 844–5. Silvestre 1964; Kottje 1982, 125–6 n. 2.
 73. Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda 2013, 83–92.
 74. McKitterick 1989, 157–205.
 75. See, for example, Webber 2017. On relations between abbots and their communities, within the context of an increasing institutionalisation of religious communities, see also Constable 1996, 176–83.
 76. Thomas of Marlborough, *History*, 490–9, 502–11.
 77. *Ibid.*, 490–3. See also CBMLC 4, 134–8 (B29).
 78. Thomas of Marlborough, *History*, 392–3, 540–1.
 79. 'Iste . . . attulit secum libros utriusque iuris, canonici scilicet et ciuilis, per quos rexit scholas ante monachatum apud Oxoniam et Exoniam.' *Ibid.*, 490–1.
 80. 'Districte precipitur omnibus ut in libris quos scribi fecerunt, ex quo venerunt ad conversionem, titulum communem apponant, hunc scilicet: *Iste est liber Sancti Victoris, etc.*, et eos de cetero nullatenus alienare presumant' (BnF lat. 14673, f. 277v): Delisle 2. 227 n. 4.
 81. 'Interdicimus inter alia viris religiosis ne emittant iuramentum de non commodando libros suos indigentibus, cum commodare inter precipua misericordiae opera computetur. Sed adhibita consideratione diligenti, alii in domo ad opus fratrum retineantur, alii secundum providentiam abbatis, cum indemnitate domus, indigentibus commodentur. Et a modo nullus liber sub anathemata teneatur et omnia predicta anathemata absolvimus.' Concilium Parisiense A.D. 1212, Part 1, c. vii, in J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (Venice, 1778), 22. 821. Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda 1996, 254–7.
 82. 'Ergo genere homicidii est quaternos non accommodare': Oxford, Trinity Coll. 65, f. 258rb: Smith, 268.
 83. Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda 1994, 205: 'elle va acquérir désormais un rôle propre, devenant ainsi pleinement représentative des besoins spirituels et culturels de la communauté'.

Modes of Reading

Jenny Weston

There has been a tendency in scholarship to juxtapose monastic and scholastic cultures in the twelfth century. This distinction can largely be attributed to Jean Leclercq's seminal 1957 study, *L'amour des lettres et le désir de Dieu*, which contrasted medieval monastic and scholastic culture based on a number of factors, including methods of reading.¹ Some scholars continue to gesture towards this dichotomy by focusing on the apparent differences between the *lectio* practised in the monasteries and the scholastic *lectio* that flourished in the urban schools.² Tomas Sodeika warns that 'it would be a mistake to identify "scholastic" *lectio* with the *monastic* one', while Jacqueline Hamesse writes that 'the new scholastic model' was 'totally different' from the kind of *lectio* practised in the monasteries.³ Such distinctions largely stem from the understanding that monastic and scholastic readers were motivated by distinct goals related to their respective cultural milieu – monks read for devotion, and urban scholars read for intellect.⁴ The dichotomy becomes further entrenched when comparisons are drawn between scholastic *lectio* and the specific practice of *lectio divina* – an integral and often private form of devotional reading practised in the monastic setting. Whereas scholastic *lectio* relied on a selective and non-sequential approach to the text, *lectio divina* encouraged a comprehensive and sequential reading, punctuated by personal prayer and contemplation.⁵ These notable distinctions perpetuate an assumption that monastic and scholastic reading were wholly different enterprises in the twelfth century.

This chapter challenges aspects of this perceived division by broadening the comparative scope of monastic *lectio* (beyond the specific activity of private *lectio divina*) to include corporate reading practices. A close investigation of the types of reading that took place during the celebration of the liturgy and the Divine Office, for example, reveals the regular practice of reading only select passages of text and often in non-sequential order – a method that directly aligns with the scholastic model. Further parallels

can be drawn between the physical design of books used during the liturgy and those used in the urban classroom. This study is part of a growing movement among scholars to find ways to reconcile the perceived cultural divide between the monastic and scholastic milieux.⁶ It presents a new premise that reading practice during the twelfth century often transcended cultural and intellectual traditions. To articulate this point further, I shall highlight the work of three individuals, John of Fécamp, Anselm of Canterbury, and Hugh of St-Victor, all of whom presented new reading strategies that cannot be contained within either the traditional monastic or scholastic paradigms. Instead, they blended tradition and innovation, and offered strategies that were applicable to readers from various cultural contexts. Through the study of reading, this chapter draws attention to the liminal space between the monastic and scholastic milieux – a space ultimately shared by monks, scholars, and students alike.

Scholastic *Lectio*

To demonstrate the commonalities between scholastic reading and forms of corporate reading in the monastery, I begin with a concise overview of scholastic *lectio* and its emergence in the urban schools of the early twelfth century. During this period, the Latin West experienced a rapid expansion of intellectual and educational enterprises.⁷ It has been argued that new methods in teaching and learning motivated the development of a new type of reading, now commonly referred to as scholastic *lectio*.⁸ One such teaching method was the popular exercise of *quaestio* and *disputatio*, where two opponents would debate and discuss the solution to an argumentative problem or idea.⁹ To prepare, students endeavoured to gather as much information on a topic as possible, preferably from a range of different sources. As Leclercq explains, students in the ‘urban schools’ were ‘seeking important, concise, and interesting extracts for doctrinal studies’.¹⁰ Students and scholars were not expected to read a book from cover to cover, but instead they were trained to mine the text for useful and relevant passages and to skip over any superfluous material. J. P. Gumbert notes that readers in this scholastic context preferred to read ‘short passages in several texts, rather than of one entire text’, and as a result, the ‘habit of “looking things up” for “reference”, or “consultative literacy”, was born’.¹¹ To make the task easier, some readers chose to compile multiple texts into single, easily accessible volumes known as *florilegia*. As Hamesse explains, these compendia ‘gave what was essential in a work or a topic’ and ‘they often presented the texts in short, easily memorized sentences’.¹² For some

modern observers, this method of selective reading presented a drastic change from the slow and comprehensive kind of *lectio* that seems to have dominated monastic book-reading.¹³

Monastic *Lectio*

Certainly, clear distinctions can be drawn between scholastic *lectio* and the private mode of monastic reading commonly referred to as *lectio divina*. While the term *lectio divina* or 'divine reading' can be applied to devotional reading in general, it is most often used to describe a specific type of personal reading exercised by monks.¹⁴ In many communities, including those that followed the Rule of St Benedict, each member was given a book during Lent to read over the course of the year, and time was allotted each morning, during the various rest periods of the day, and on Sundays to engage in private *lectio*.¹⁵ Reading at these times has been characterised as a solitary practice.¹⁶ Finding a quiet moment, the reader cleared his mind of distraction and sought communion with God through the act of holy reading. To enhance and extract the value of the experience, readers followed a series of interrelated steps.¹⁷ The first step involved the undistracted reading of the text (*lectio*); the reader would then turn the words over in his mind, committing them to memory (*meditatio*); he was also encouraged to pause from his reading and engage in spontaneous prayer (*oratio*); and finally he could embrace a period of contemplation (*contemplatio*), reflecting upon the experience and the wisdom he may have received. This type of reading demanded a patient and focused approach, and, ideally, the practice was not restricted by the limitations of time but was perceived as a constant lifelong endeavour that led to the gradual reception of spiritual wisdom;¹⁸ it was meant to involve the comprehensive reading of whole texts over time. As stipulated by the Rule, each book issued during the period of Lent should be read 'per ordinem ex integro' (straight through, in its entirety).¹⁹ Given the comprehensive and deeply devotional nature of *lectio divina*, it is easy to see why monastic and scholastic *lectio* have been framed as dichotomous practices. However, if we expand the scope of monastic reading to include corporate modes, we find less divergence between the two models.

Corporate Monastic Reading

In addition to *lectio divina* (as described earlier), most monastic communities also engaged in other forms of reading that were not solitary, comprehensive,

or textually sequential. These other reading activities took place each day when the community gathered together for the Mass, during the eight prayer cycles of the Divine Office, mealtimes, the daily Chapter reading, and the evening gathering of Collation. At these times, reading was practised communally with a single *lector* reading to a congregation of listeners.²⁰ Despite the fact that most of the community would not have had a book in hand, the act of listening was still considered a kind of divine reading; listeners were encouraged to focus on the words and contemplate their inner meaning.²¹ Unlike private forms of *lectio divina*, however, the individual listener could not manage his own experience directly. He was unable to reread passages at will for the purpose of memorisation (*meditatio*) or pause from the text to engage in spontaneous personal prayer (*oratio*). And, most important for the context of this study, corporate reading did not typically involve the comprehensive reading of entire books. As the following evidence shows, the readings performed during most communal settings were tied to the events of the liturgical calendar – a timetable that guided all rituals, prayers, and activities throughout the year. In order to maintain synchronisation with the calendar, the reading procedure was necessarily selective and, as such, directly corresponds to aspects of scholastic *lectio*.

Since as early as the fifth century, readings performed during the Mass, for example, demonstrate a varied programme that shifted depending on the calendar.²² The celebration of the Mass was made up of a series of prayers, readings, and responses, some of which were fixed (Ordinary) and others that were subject to change depending on the liturgical calendar (Proper). Part of the 'Proper' of the Mass included the epistle and the gospel readings.²³ In a lectionary known as the *Liber comicus*, copied in the eleventh century and used by the Benedictine community at the abbey of Santo Domingo de Silos, we find a list of texts designated for the epistle reading of the Mass service.²⁴ During the first week of Easter, when Mass was celebrated each day, the readings were primarily drawn from the Apocalypse and the Acts of the Apostles.²⁵ The readings for the week, however, did not comprise the entire text, nor did they follow the original sequence of the text: on the third ferial day of Easter (Tuesday), for example, the reading is listed as Apocalypse, Book III, chapters 7–13; the following day (Wednesday), the reading begins with Apocalypse Book II, chapters 12–7.²⁶ Similarly, the gospel reading performed during the Mass focused on selections or excerpts from the text.²⁷ Both the epistle and gospel readings were not meant to be comprehensive, nor were they meant to be textually sequential – the *lector* was directed to skip certain chapters and focus on material related to the weekly events, effectively moving backward and forward in the sequence of the text.

Selective reading did not just take place during the Mass, but it was also used to fulfil the scriptural readings during the Divine Office (and in some cases the readings performed at mealtimes in the refectory).²⁸ The Office was divided over the course of eight prayer services that took place throughout the day and into the night: 'Vespers in the late afternoon before dusk, Compline after dark and before retiring to bed, Matins in the middle of the night between midnight and dawn, Lauds around day-break, Prime in the early morning followed by Terce later in the morning, Sext at midday, and None in the mid-afternoon.'²⁹ The primary focus during each Office was the recitation of the Psalms (all 150 Psalms were supposed to be recited over the course of each week), although the community would also perform prayers and scriptural readings.³⁰ While most of these meetings were relatively brief, the Night Office known as Matins (beginning usually around 2:00 A.M.) was substantially longer than the rest and involved short scriptural readings ('lessons' or *lectiones*) grouped together into a set (known as a 'nocturn').³¹ During regular weekdays (known as 'ferial days'), Matins typically consisted of one to three *lectiones*. On Sundays and major feast days, the Matins reading programme was expanded to include twelve *lectiones* (three nocturns, with four *lectiones* in each).³² Like the epistle and gospel readings of the Mass, the choice of what to read for each nocturn depended on the cycle of the liturgical calendar, which changed on a regular basis.³³ For example, the first nocturn readings were typically meant to be taken from the Bible, with the goal of reading the entire Bible over the course of the year. This programme, however, was consistently interrupted by special readings on feast days and other special occasions that demanded a new set of texts.³⁴ These temporary transitions to alternative textual material required the reader to close one book and open another; they also required the reader to access material from multiple books. In order to link the content of scriptural readings during the liturgy with the Christian calendar, the *lector* relied on a selective programme of reading – choosing passages that matched the theme of the season and the day of the week, which was then recited for the benefit of the listeners.

Broadening the scope of monastic *lectio* to include both private and corporate reading enabled the monks to approach the task of reading in more ways than one. The fact that certain types of monastic *lectio* included selective reading also reduces the perceived division between the monastic and scholastic cultural milieux in the twelfth century. Although readers from each context may have been motivated by different objectives, at times they both relied on the same practical procedure – just as urban

scholars searched for specific passages of text related to the *quaestio* and *disputatio*, monastic readers focused on specific chapters and passages related to the liturgical calendar. What all of these readers shared was a reliance on selective reading. This observation contributes to our ongoing efforts to identify common threads that bind together two seemingly distinct cultural and intellectual contexts.

The Manuscript Book

Further parallels between the two contexts can also be drawn if we take into account the surviving manuscript record. It has been argued that the scholastic *lectio* practised in the urban schools also prompted the development of a new book format during the twelfth century.³⁵ The physical book needed to support an increasingly complex system of teaching, learning, and reading; it not only needed to present the text, but it also needed to function as a searchable repository of information that could be quickly accessed by masters and students engaging in scholastic activities like *quaestio* and *disputatio*. Hamesse comments that the twelfth-century 'scholastic reader' wished to 'find what he was looking for with ease, without having to leaf through pages'.³⁶ Richard and Mary Rouse have also demonstrated that by the late twelfth century it was common to find books equipped with a variety of tools for 'finding', such as a 'clearly displayed text, with its chapter lists, running headlines, and marginal apparatus'.³⁷

In the context of selective reading, however, monastic readers also relied on many of the very same book formats and navigational tools that were commonly used by readers in the scholastic milieu.³⁸ By the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it was common for liturgical material to be presented in one of two formats: either a compendium of collected excerpts arranged in liturgical order (such as lectionaries, epistolaries, missals, and breviaries)³⁹ or 'whole texts', arranged in biblical order, equipped with navigational reading aids, such as chapter tables, chapter numbers, running titles, paragraphs, or lection marks that helped the reader locate desired material.⁴⁰ The development of liturgical books that contained excerpted readings assembled according to the calendar indicates that selective reading was commonplace in the liturgical readings, and some communities wished to limit the time required to locate designated material without having to flip through multiple volumes. There seems to be a direct parallel here to the use of *florilegia* in the urban schools, where students and

scholars collected excerpts of important works together to avoid having to refer to multiple texts when preparing an argument.

Not all monastic communities chose to use collections of excerpts during the celebration of the liturgy, however, but instead preferred to use whole texts. A representative study of surviving manuscripts from the Benedictine abbey of Fécamp demonstrates that many of the books designated for use during the celebration of the Mass or Office feature navigational aids embedded into the design of the book.⁴¹ A Giant Bible produced at Fécamp ca. 1060–80, for example, contains a large collection of readings suitable for the liturgy. The text is equipped with chapter tables (Figure 7.1) at the opening of each new book (listing the relevant *incipit* headings and associated chapter numbers), as well as running titles, marginal lection marks, and navigational paragraph marks placed throughout the text (Figure 7.2).⁴²

The imposing size of the book – 495 mm × 350 mm – further indicates that it was designed to be stationary (such as on a lectern) and not likely intended for the private activity of *lectio divina*.⁴³ Similar examples of books equipped with navigational reading aids (and with texts suitable for the readings of the Mass and Office) can be found in collections from other Norman Benedictine monasteries including Jumièges, Mont-St-Michel, and St-Évroult.⁴⁴

These navigational features are most often associated with the type of reading pursued in the scholastic context. However, it is important to acknowledge that they also regularly appear in monastic books that were used during the liturgy and Office readings, at which times selective reading was practised. Monastic and scholastic readers, therefore, did not just have selective reading in common, but they also relied on many of the very same tools and principles of book design to accommodate this specific approach to the page.

Individual Approaches

As demonstrated thus far, some elements of reading practice during the twelfth century seem to have transcended cultural and intellectual traditions. This premise is further exemplified in some of the individual approaches to reading practice that extended across traditional boundaries of the monastic and scholastic milieux. Expressed in various treatises, letters, and prologues, these individual approaches further complicate the general picture of reading in the twelfth century and show it to have been a dynamic activity that shifted along with developing theories of spiritual, personal, and doctrinal inquiry.

[illegible]

John of Fécamp

Writing in the eleventh century, John of Fécamp (ca. 990–1078) presented a slightly modified understanding of *lectio divina* that would influence later authors and readers.⁴⁵ In his work, titled the *Confessio theologica* (written ca. 1018), John offered an interpretation of reading largely modelled upon Augustine's *Soliloquia* and *Confessions*, which included a deeper sense of personal interiority and self-examination achieved through reading and prayer.⁴⁶ More specifically, John adjusted his conception of *meditatio* in the scheme of *lectio divina*. Traditionally, *meditatio* involved the repeated reading of text for the purpose of memorisation and rumination. For John, however, this stage was conceived as an opportunity and means to engage in deep, self-reflective prayer.⁴⁷ While earlier descriptions of *lectio divina* also accommodated spontaneous prayer (*oratio*), for John *meditatio* itself would become a form of prayer achieved through 'a movement of active, personal implication in the reading'.⁴⁸ As Brian Stock explains, 'devotional reading becomes a type of reflective thinking and writing in which self and text are closely integrated'.⁴⁹

What was also new about John's approach was the type of reader and type of reading procedure he imagined for this kind of prayer-focused devotional reading. In a prefatory letter added to one of John's compilations, the *Libellus de scripturis et verbis patrum* (largely drawn from the *Confessio theologica*), John first addressed an unnamed nun, and then rededicated the work to Agnes of Poitou (ca. 1025–77), the widow of Holy Roman Emperor Henry III.⁵⁰ The dedication of the work to an aristocratic lay woman suggests that John envisioned a wider audience for his writings that extended beyond religious professionals and male readers. It is in this prefatory letter that John also explained how the book should be read. First, he asked for the text to be read 'reverently' and meditated upon with 'due fearfulness'.⁵¹ He then added that it should be read frequently, 'especially when you feel that your mind has been touched by the desire for Heaven'.⁵² Although John's vision of how the text should be read was rooted in the principles of *lectio divina*, the method he described also implied a more leisurely and personal approach to the material than previously encountered, as well as an activity that may have appealed to non-monastic readers.⁵³

Anselm of Canterbury

Following the direction initiated by John of Fécamp, Anselm of Canterbury (ca. 1033–1109) also presented an approach that placed greater

emphasis on the close relationship between reading, prayer, and interiority.⁵⁴ Anselm expressed these connections most clearly in his earlier devotional writings, in particular his popular collection of prayers and meditations (*Orationes sive meditationes*).⁵⁵ Like John's writings, Anselm's *Prayers and Meditations* turned the focus of *meditatio* away from the memorisation of words and towards the rumination of 'ideas and feelings'.⁵⁶ By invoking the reader to apply critical examination of the feelings presented in the text, Anselm also opened a path to personal introspection. This 'movement towards interiority' and subjective response as a result of reading is considered a major development in processes of spiritual and personal inquiry in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁵⁷

Also like John, Anselm sent his collection of *Prayers and Meditations* to a variety of individuals, including aristocratic lay women and fellow monks: in 1072, he sent an early selection to Princess Adelaide, daughter of William the Conqueror; in 1073–4, he presented three prayers to his friend Gundulf, monk at the abbey of Bec; and in 1104, he sent the entire collection to Countess Matilda of Tuscany.⁵⁸ In a preface to the collection, Anselm explained the purpose of the texts ('to stir up the mind of the reader to the love or fear of God, or to self-examination'), and he explained how they should be read: not in 'turmoil, but quietly', not 'skimmed or hurried through, but taken little at a time, with deep and thoughtful meditation'.⁵⁹ Anselm deviated from earlier descriptions of *lectio divina*, however, in his description of how much to read and where to begin:

The reader should not trouble about reading the whole of any of them, but only as much as, by God's help, he finds useful in stirring up his spirit to pray, or as much as he likes. Nor is it necessary for him always to begin any one always at the beginning, but wherever he pleases.⁶⁰

Like the instructions provided by John, Anselm's reader is invited to browse the text 'at leisure' and 'at will', reading only as much as needed to inspire prayer.⁶¹ The potentially selective aspect of this approach also resembles the type of reading performed in the urban schools, where students typically read only as much as was needed to support the development of specific arguments or ideas. This more abstracted method also reflects a departure from the comprehensive private *lectio* described by the Rule of St Benedict. Of course, it is not likely that Anselm intended this method to be applied to all forms of devotional reading; after all, he describes this approach in relation to the reading of his own *Prayers and Meditations* and not necessarily to the reading of Scripture. That said,

Anselm's method reflects an emerging sense of freedom among authors and readers to adjust traditions in order to accommodate new sensibilities, and, in some cases, new types of readers.

Hugh of St-Victor

Another individual who initiated a major shift in reading practice was Hugh of St-Victor (ca. 1096–1141), an Augustinian canon and master at the school of St-Victor in Paris. In his *Didascalicon*, Hugh presented a comprehensive survey of knowledge that also included lengthy instructions of what, why, and how to read.⁶² Like John and Anselm before him, Hugh adjusted the focus of *meditatio* in his scheme of devotional reading. While he expressed an interest in penitential prayer and self-examination, Hugh added a new analytical layer to the practice of *meditatio* that had not been exercised before.⁶³ As he explained in the *Didascalicon*, Book III, 'Meditation is sustained thought along planned lines; it prudently investigates that cause and the source, the manner and the utility of each thing.'⁶⁴ Instead of using the stage of *meditatio* as a means to memorise the text, Hugh perceived it as an opportunity to analyse the text, using intellectual and rational lines of investigation.⁶⁵ In some ways, this approach might best be described as a hybrid mode of monastic and scholastic *lectio*, which was motivated by an emotional desire for 'penitential purification', but which also included the scientific evaluation of text.⁶⁶

Conclusion

Nearly thirty years after Leclercq penned his foundational study, *L'amour des lettres et le désir de Dieu*, his view on the relationship between the monastic and scholastic milieux underwent a profound shift – where he had once seen opposition, he now also saw commonality. Writing on the topic of theology, Leclercq proposed a new challenge: 'how to fit "monastic within scholastic" and "scholastic within monastic"'.⁶⁷ This study responds to his call by focusing on reading practices in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It challenges assumptions that monastic and scholastic *lectio* were wholly distinct modes of reading, and instead draws attention to the shared practice of selective reading and related elements of book design – that is, how aspects of monastic *lectio* existed within scholastic *lectio*.

The similarities in reading practice not only help to diminish the perceived division between these two cultural settings, but they also prompt further questions about the emergence of selective reading in the urban context. In particular, if we understand that selective reading was a practice that had been deeply entrenched in the daily rituals of the monastic tradition for centuries,⁶⁸ then is it possible that the monastic environment served as a direct influence for the development of selective reading in the urban schools? The established view is that changes to programmes of teaching and learning sparked the use of selective reading in the scholastic context. But could the basic tenets of this approach have been (at least partially) based on the liturgical and Office readings regularly performed in the monastic setting? Indeed, many scholars and students who lived and worked in the urban context would have been familiar with the readings performed during the celebration of the Mass and may have witnessed the practice of selective reading. Others who received training in the monastic school or who spent time as community members may have had even more direct experience with this mode of reading. Peter Abelard (1079–1142), for example, was a popular master in Paris in the early twelfth century and a proponent of the *quaestio* method; he also lived for a time as a monk at the abbey of St-Denis.⁶⁹ While this hypothesis remains speculative until a more conclusive study can be realised, it would help to explain the rapid rate at which selective reading emerged and came into regular use in the urban schools of the twelfth century.

Although the relationship between the monastery and the development of scholastic *lectio* demands further exploration, this chapter firmly establishes that readers in the twelfth century often blended convention with newer developments, as well as monastic ideals with scholastic practice. The development of individual approaches to reading that suited personal interpretations of pedagogy and practice is reflective of a growing general interest in notions of ‘selfhood’ and the ‘individual’ that arose in this period.⁷⁰ The subtle fusion of monastic and scholastic ideals, as well as the invitation of new audiences to engage in devotional reading, also shows that reading practices were less bound by cultural context than previously imagined. While later generations of readers would continue to diversify and update their practices, a rich spectrum of reading already existed in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.⁷¹ Through the merger of tradition and innovation, as well as monastic and scholastic methods, readers could choose from a myriad of practices designed to suit their spiritual, intellectual, corporate, or personal needs.

Notes

I would like to extend special thanks to Erik Kwakkel, who provided critical guidance as I developed many of the ideas presented in this chapter. I am also grateful for advice received from Rodney Thomson and Teresa Webber.

1. Leclercq 1947. While this work was not originally intended for an academic audience, it continues to serve as a foundational text for those who study medieval reading.
2. See Studzinski 2009, 15; Newman 1996, 37; Rahner 1975, 1540; and n. 3.
3. Sodeika 2005, 24; Hamesse 1999, 104.
4. Leclercq 1947, esp. 72 and 84; Studzinski 2009, esp. 15 and 17; and Ferruolo 1985, 50.
5. For a general overview of scholastic *lectio*, see Hamesse 1999; Rouse and Rouse 1982; Parkes 1976; Illich 1993, *Vineyard*; Southern 1979; Hankins 1990, 20–1. For discussions of *lectio divina* in the monastery, see Leclercq 1947, 2012; Irvine 2010; Edsal 2000; Sandor 1989; Studzinski 2009; Robertson 1996; Casey 1995; Illich 1993, *Vineyard*; Pennington 1998; Vandenbroucke 1966; and Weston 2015.
6. Leclercq himself would later reduce the opposition he initially applied to the monastic and scholastic milieux. See Leclercq 1986, esp. 194; also Mews 2000, 2007; and Lefler 2014.
7. See Southern 1982, 1995; Ferruolo 1985; Verger 1999.
8. Hamesse 1999; Parkes 1976; Gumbert 2009; Leclercq 1947; Rouse and Rouse 1982; Illich 1993, *Vineyard*.
9. For a general overview of the scholastic programme of learning, see ‘The Scholastic Method’ in Seel 2012, 1170. For *quaestio*, see Marenbon 2004, 23; Elders 2003; Lawn 1993; Grabmann 1909.
10. Leclercq 1947, 182.
11. Gumbert 2009, 232; Gumbert’s quotations refer to Parkes 1976, 35. Gumbert points out that this form of reading was not exclusive to this period: ‘It should be clear . . . that these are not absolutes; neither way was exclusive in its period (nor did the scholars who described these ways of reading imagine they were).’
12. Hamesse 1999, 107.
13. As Richard Rouse and Mary Rouse argue, this was not a context in which students pursued ‘reflective reading’, but instead they read their books with the intention of ‘seeking out specific information’ (Rouse and Rouse 1982, 206).
14. See Rees 1978, 265; Studzinski 2009.
15. St Benedict, *Rule*, ch. 48. Depending on the time of year, it has been calculated that Benedict allocated more than three hours a day to this practice; Studzinski 2009, 123. Other religious orders and groups that did not follow the Rule of St Benedict, including the Carthusians and Augustinian canons, also practised forms of *lectio divina*.
16. *Lectio divina* was often a solitary activity, but on occasion monks would sit together to read. Even then the practice was still relatively private, as monks

- were encouraged to read quietly to themselves so as not to disturb others. St Benedict, *Rule*, ch. 48.
17. The Carthusian monk and prior of Grande Chartreuse monastery Guigo II (d. ca. 1188) likens each of these steps to the rungs on a ladder that extend into the heavenly realm: as the reader completes each step of the *lectio divina* process, he moves higher on the ladder and closer to perfection. He also explains the synthesis between these four steps using a common metaphor of alimentation. See Guigo II, *The Ladder of Monks*, 82–3.
 18. According to Cassian, the monk's desire to read the Word of God is never satiated. See Cassian, *Conferences*, 10. 2 (514).
 19. St Benedict, *Rule*, ch. 48. See also Studzinski 2009, 125; Kardong 1996, 391–2; Casey 1995, 5–11, esp. at 9; Holzherr 1994, 232–4; William of St-Thierry, *The Golden Epistle*, XXXI. 120 (51); Edsall 2000, 50.
 20. For further details about corporate reading and the oral delivery of texts, see Harper 1991; Boynton 2011; Webber 2013, 2014, 2015.
 21. Guigo II writes that 'listening is a kind of reading, and that is why we are accustomed to say that we have read not only those books which we have read to ourselves or aloud to others but also which our teachers have read to us' (Edsall 2000, 62). In St Benedict, *Rule*, ch. 4, titled 'Quae sunt instrumenta bonorum operum' [What are the instruments of good works], Benedict writes that monks ought 'Lectiones sanctas libenter audire' [To listen gladly to holy reading].
 22. Lampe et al. 1969, 225, make clear that by the fifth century this practice of continuous reading during the Mass was gradually interrupted to incorporate various feasts and celebrations, such as the Epiphany, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, and the 'feasts of the martyrs'. For further discussion on the selective reading of the Bible during Eucharistic services, see Vogel 1986, 299–301.
 23. The epistle reading was usually taken from the Pauline Epistles, but it could also come from the Acts of the Apostles or passages from the Old Testament. The gospel reading was always taken from one of the four gospels. Leclercq 1922, 246.
 24. BnF nouv. acq. lat. 2171. The list of readings is reprinted in Leclercq 1922. A complete edition of the lectionary can be found in *Liber comicus*.
 25. Leclercq 1922, 266–7.
 26. For further discussion on the selective reading of the Bible during Eucharistic services, see Vogel 1986, 299–301; Lampe et al. 1969, 225.
 27. See, for example, the list of pericopes added to the back of BnF lat. 258 from the abbey of Fécamp (f. 156rv). For comparable lists of gospel readings, see Leclercq 1922, 'Évangiles'. For a full description of pericopes and gospel books with *capitular evangeliorum*, see Palazzo 1998, 91–7. He notes that these lists are often preceded by a heading, such as '*capitular evangeliorum*', '*breviarium lectionum evangelii*', or '*ordo evangeliorum per annum*' (93 n. 270); cf. Vogel 1986, 316–20. For a description of how pericopes were generally used in gospel books, see Sheerin 1996, 172.

28. Sometimes mealtime readings followed the Office programme (the time in the refectory used to complete any unfinished readings from the Office), and at other times they were chosen based on the events of the year. See the ordinal of the abbey of Fécamp for a detailed list of refectory readings (listed as '*Lectiones ad prandium*'), including saints' days, feast days, and other special occasions. *The Ordinal of the Abbey of the Holy Trinity Fécamp*, 2. 674–85. These readings have also been edited by Grémont 1971, 3–41.
29. Boynton 2011, 11. For a breakdown of the Divine Office with modern hours, see Collamore 2000, 5. For a general discussion of the Divine Office in the Middle Ages, see Crichton 1992; Harper 1991.
30. Originally, the reading list of the Divine Office comprised solely the Psalms and prayers. By the fifth century, scriptural readings were added to the service, followed later by the addition of hagiographical texts, patristic works, and sermons. See Lampe et al. 1969, 233.
31. Matins was also known as 'Vigils' or the 'Office of Readings'; Collamore 2000.
32. Boynton 2011, 23.
33. Boynton notes that by the end of the seventh century, the scriptural lessons for the first nocturn 'had been organized into an annual cycle' that followed the liturgical calendar (2011, 23–4).
34. Webber 2013, 21–2. For the variety of readings performed during the Office, see *The Ordinal of the Abbey of the Holy Trinity Fécamp*, 1. 6–7; 2. 391.
35. See, for example, Parkes 1976, 1993, 2008; Rouse and Rouse 1979, 1982.
36. Hamesse 1999, 103. She adds that readers needed to have 'convenient ways to find the passages they wanted to use and know what arguments were indispensable in a given domain' (107).
37. Rouse and Rouse 1982, 209. For further examples, see the following: Parkes 1976, esp. at 135; Parkes 2008, 66–7; Rouse and Rouse 1979, 29; Rouse and Rouse 1982, 207. Most scholars have acknowledged that many of these finding aids were not new in the twelfth century, but can also be found in much older manuscript traditions. Nonetheless, there is a prevailing assumption that earlier manifestations of these features were not typical, nor were they necessarily required to support modes of reading that preceded the scholastic model. See Parkes 1976, 122; Rouse and Rouse 1982, 29.
38. For a more detailed argument, see Weston 2015.
39. For a more detailed discussion of liturgical books, see Chapter 10 of the present volume and Webber 2014.
40. For a brief comment on *lectio* marks, see Webber 2015, 48–9.
41. Weston 2015.
42. Rouen, Bibl. mun. 1.
43. Private *lectio* happened at various locations throughout the monastery which required readers to move their books regularly. For some examples of reading and location, see St Benedict, *Rule*, ch. 48.
44. For further details, see Weston 2015.

45. Leclercq and Bonnes describe John of Fécamp as a 'précurseur' to developments that take place in later generations. See their comments in Leclercq and Bonnes 1946, 89.
46. 'Augustine allowed the rational spirit to community with the "interior of the soul" and in this manner made self-knowledge the goal of reading' (Exalto, 210); Stock 2001.
47. McGinn 1994, 136.
48. Robertson 1996, 140.
49. Stock, 63.
50. Leclercq and Bonnes 1946, esp. 211–2; For Agnes of Poitou, see McNamer 2010, esp. 77–80; and McLaughlin 2010, 117–22.
51. Leclercq and Bonnes 1946, 211–7.
52. Ibid.
53. As Robertson suggests (1996, 144), '*Lectio divina* is now to be rediscovered by a solitary individual in an unregimented situation, removed from the monastic routine.'
54. For the influence of John of Fécamp on Anselm's works, see Bhattacharji 2014, esp. 153–66; Southern 1990; and Evans 1974, 105–15.
55. Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, in *S. Anselmi . . . Opera Omnia*, 2. 2–91. For Anselm's influence, see Davies and Leftow 2004.
56. Robertson 1996, 149.
57. Studzinski 2009, 144–5; Robertson 1996, 133; Leclercq, Vandenbroucke, and Bouyer 1968, 163–4; Salmon 1965, 122–3; Stock 2001, 122–3.
58. Robertson 1996, 145.
59. Anselm, *Prayers and Meditations*, 89.
60. Ibid.
61. Robertson 1996, 146.
62. Hugh of St-Victor, *Didascalicon*. For a comprehensive commentary on Hugh's text, see Illich, *Vineyard*.
63. Taylor 2002, 129; Studzinski 2009, 165.
64. *Didascalicon*, 3. 10.
65. Robertson 1996, 220. Hugh's method of textual exposition was similar to that of Gregory's threefold process of *historia*, *allegoria*, and *tropologia*. For a brief overview, see Robertson 1996, 217; for a more detailed study of Hugh's theology and practice, see Illich, *Vineyard*.
66. Robertson 1996, 220.
67. Leclercq 1986, 194. See also Mews 2007.
68. See n. 23.
69. Peter Abelard's major contribution to this field was his work *Sic et non*; Köpf 2000, esp. 157–60; Marenbon, esp. 61–4; Grodecki 1975, 279–86.
70. For studies on the 'rise of the individual' in various contexts of twelfth-century intellectual life and literature, see Bynum 1982, esp. 82–90; Ullman 1966; Dronke 1970; and Southern 1953, esp. 219–57.
71. For later developments in reading, see Illich 1993, esp. 32.

*Practices of Appropriation: Writing in the Margin**Mariken Teeuwen*

The history of strategies of reading and writing has come into view only over the past few decades.¹ The field was given a big push by the initiative of large public libraries to make digital facsimiles of medieval manuscripts from their collections available online. For the first time, modern scholars can see not only a few but large quantities of manuscripts. They can compare manuscripts kept in one library with those kept in another on the screens of their computers. Digital images of manuscripts are now available to any scholar interested in them and not only to those for whom they were traditionally part of their research: the philologists, who focused on the content of books, on textual variants and stemmatological questions, and the manuscript scholars, who focused on their appearance, studying and analysing codicological and palaeographical aspects of the book. Now they have become part of the research material of a much greater variety of scholars, interested in historical, social, cultural or intellectual questions of how books were made, read, studied, used, touched, carried around, traded, treasured and discarded. An important feature of manuscripts that has come into view only as a corollary of their new online existence is the annotations in the margins and interlinear spaces. Whereas both philologists and cataloguers, by tradition, were generally inclined to ignore these, these features were largely hidden until very recently, but digitisation and the interest in the history of reading has put them back in the spotlight. In this chapter, my focus drifts to the edges of pages, rather than the middle. I shall address questions such as: What did twelfth-century makers and readers of books do to store, sort, select and summarise their reading?² How did they engage with their books, in order to optimise their use of them? Was annotating books common or special? Are certain practices of annotating specific to certain textual genres, or shared by all genres alike? How do they compare over the chronological length of the century, or the geographical area of the Latin West? How did practices shift, potentially,

with the intellectual demands and ideals of their time, and how do they reflect these?

In the grand narrative of intellectual history, the twelfth century is a century of change and innovation, a cultural renaissance which saw the birth of scholasticism, the first universities, the introduction of a new stream of texts from the Greek philosophical tradition, enriched with Arabic interpretations. In terms of manuscript production, it is generally argued that the face of the book itself changed so as to accommodate a new culture of reading: the mere growth of material to be read and studied by a scholar caused a growth in strategies of summarising, structuring and organising texts, and the development of tools such as the index in order to facilitate the consultation of texts.³ Next to the monastic, contemplative practice, a scholastic model of reading developed, aimed at strategies of reasoning, the selection and comparison of authorities and dialectical engagement.

Parts of this grand narrative seem flawed and in need of revision. Many of the tools twelfth-century readers and writers used to engage with the texts assembled in their books, to aid them in their reading, study and appropriation of the texts, were not new.⁴ Their appearance may have changed, but certainly the majority of them were already in use in earlier times. Recent scholarship has shown, moreover, that the goals of the Carolingian reform stimulated a culture of careful, correct reading and diligent text transmission, which involved many of the same intellectual strategies that were so important in the dialectical, scholastic age.⁵ It seems timely, therefore, to try and compare annotating practices from different times and different areas, and to take stock. A full analysis of such practices is not yet possible, since scholarship has only recently begun to explore the margins of medieval manuscripts from this point of view. But a tentative comparison between some material collected from two sets of data, one of manuscripts from the period 800–1000, and one of manuscripts from the Long Twelfth Century, will bring a number of interesting observations to light.⁶

Manuscripts of the Classics, Manuscripts for the Classroom

‘Medieval copies of classical works do not naturally constitute a distinct category. The classics were produced, like all other books, according to the nature of the text and the destination of the manuscript.’⁷ With this statement, Birger Munk Olsen opens his chapter on the production of manuscripts containing classical texts in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

He is certainly right, of course: a book with classical texts was produced by the same scribes and used by the same readers as many other literary genres. Yet two characteristics of the classical genre make them more interesting than average in the particular context of writing in the margin and in between the lines: first, they often come with a set of glosses, scholia or even a full commentary. Secondly, they were generally produced for usage in education. These two features make them a fruitful category of manuscripts for the exploration of techniques of appropriation, and a safe choice if one wants to observe specific practices of writing in the margin.

Munk Olsen counted around 2,500 manuscripts or fragments with classical texts produced in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and lists twenty-nine texts which survive in more than twenty-five copies. Of these, about 30 per cent are dated to the eleventh century, 70 per cent to the twelfth.⁸ Popular were Cicero's moral and rhetorical works, along with the pseudo-Ciceronian text *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Lucan's *Bellum civile*, Statius' *Thebaid*, the *Satires* of Juvenal and Persius and Terence's *Comedies*. The Golden Poets, Horace, Virgil and Ovid, were also popular.

In this first section I present six twelfth-century manuscripts containing classical texts or which were designed for use in the classroom: a Virgil manuscript, a book combining the prosimetric works of Boethius (*The Consolation of Philosophy*) and Martianus Capella (the first two books of his encyclopaedia of the seven liberal arts: *The Marriage of Mercury and Philology*), a copy of Calcidius' commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*, a booklet with Ciceronian works on rhetoric and two copies of Priscian.

Leiden, Universiteitsbibl. BPL 92A: Virgil's *Bucolica*, *Georgica* and *Aeneas*

BPL 92A is a beautiful book made of very high-quality, perfectly smooth parchment and enriched with illustrated initials in black, blue, green and red inks.⁹ It is dated around 1150 and was probably produced in England.¹⁰ The layout reckons with the addition of commentary: a rather narrow single column is used for the main text, and a column in the outer margin which is almost as wide is pricked and ruled for the purpose of commentary. Each line of the main text potentially houses two lines of commentary text. The lines of the main text are widely spaced, so that between the lines annotators had ample room to write their glosses and comments as well. The pages measure ca. 240 mm × 150 mm (a rather narrow book),¹¹ the text-space ca. 200 mm × 62 mm, in the *Aeneas* part of the manuscript

200 mm × 73 mm, which makes the percentage of marginal space vary between 60 per cent and 66 per cent of the page.

The commentary added here represents a settled commentary tradition: it has elements of Servius, Donatus and several anonymous established commentaries on the texts at hand, together with a mix of *vitae* of Virgil and *accessus*.¹² The commentary text is split up into blocks, which surround the main text and which are placed so as to line up, as much as possible, with the lemmata they refer to. Where the placement could cause confusion, minute tie marks are inserted. The set of signs or squiggles used here are combinations of dots, circles and lines.

In general, each annotation is marked at the beginning with a paragraph sign or hook (ʹ), the top of which is elegantly curved upwards. Remarkably, most of the interlinear glosses also begin with this sign. On some pages, the marginal annotations are boxed or demarcated with lines, elegantly broken with small 'ribs', so as to set them apart as a unit for the reader.

Apart from the stylishly entered commentary, the manuscript carries very little evidence of use. There are no later layers of commentary added to it, or ad hoc reader's notes. The whole manuscript, with text and commentary, must have been produced in one go, and afterwards it was kept in pristine condition.

Leiden, Universiteitsbibl. BPL 144: Boethius' *Consolatio* and Martianus' *De nuptiis*

In BPL 144, two prosimetric texts, notably Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* and Martianus' *The Marriage of Mercury and Philology* (Books I–II), are combined. This book was possibly produced in the Netherlands in the last quarter of the twelfth century.¹³ Just as in the previous book, the scribe reckoned with commentary that needed to be added around the main text: he created a rather narrow main text column in the centre of the page, and provided for two extra columns left and right which could house annotations. The pages measure circa 225 mm × 165 mm, with a writing space for the main text of 150 mm × 75 mm (a marginal space of 70 per cent). In the Martianus Capella part of the manuscript, this marginal space is at times made even larger, so as to create space for even more commentary. The main text lines are pricked and ruled; for the marginal text columns, only the vertical lines are pricked and ruled. Each line of main text has the same height, approximately, as two lines of commentary.

In the margins and interlinear space a first, contemporary set of annotations has been added followed by a second one, roughly a century younger. The basic layout of the first, contemporary layer of commentary is similar to that of the Virgil manuscript discussed earlier: the annotations are arranged around the main text as blocks of text, if possible placed so as to match the line of the lemmata in the main text. As a rule of thumb, the marginal annotations start with a paragraph sign (¶), the interlinear glosses do not. No tie marks are given. In the annotations, the lemma is often underlined. In the Martianus Capella part of the manuscript, the volume of commentary is at times so large that the marginal space is almost completely filled. Only small strips of space at the top and bottom of the pages are left blank.

As to the use of text and commentary, the differences between the original layer of commentary and the later one are striking. Whereas the scribe of the first copies a settled tradition, the second – to be dated in the last quarter of the thirteenth century¹⁴ – consists of ad hoc additions, personal notes and lively interactions with the text at hand. The annotator adds *nota* signs, pointing out which part of the text caught his interest, often enlivening them with pointing fingers and faces, or other small drawings. On f. 10r he adds a nice drawing of Boethius' wheel of fortune (Figure 8.1). Many of his *nota* signs, hands and faces are right at the edges of the pages, which may be only because of the binder's knife that cut the edges down in modern times, but one could also imagine that they were purposefully put there to allow the annotator to browse through his book and be reminded of passages he liked or which left an impression. This personal voice is absent from the Martianus Capella part of the manuscript, but present again in a part which must have been added to the first two at a later stage: a copy of Macrobius' *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, produced in France around 1100. Only a few folia of this text survive, but they caught the interest of our late thirteenth-century reader, who wrote lengthy comments and illustrated points in the text with small cosmological diagrams.

Leiden, Universiteitsbibl. BPL 64: Calcidius, Commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*

From Macrobius, it is a small step to Calcidius, a second great authority in matters of cosmology. BPL 64 is a manuscript composed of multiple codicological units. The first part (Plato's *Phaedo*) was produced in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, the second (Calcidius' *Commentary on*

of annotation. Some of them are contemporary, some later (perhaps added only in the thirteenth century, when the other parts of the manuscript may have been added), but they are difficult to distinguish with certainty.¹⁶

In the margin, we can observe phenomena which are by now familiar: blocks of text, arranged next to the main text so as to line up with the lemma they respond to; as a rule of thumb marked at the beginning with a paragraph sign (¶). Occasionally, tie marks are used, such as the letters B or θ. Remarkable in this case are the many small diagrams which are added to the set of diagrams already available in the text: they illustrate abstract concepts such as numerical ratios, or visualise the relations between terms and their characteristics. We can see added *nota* signs, calling attention to certain passages in the text. We can also observe how in the annotations multiple authorities are referred to: Augustine, Tertullianus and Remigius are all mentioned in relation to the text at hand. A new phenomenon in this particular manuscript is the use of ‘co’ (for *commentarius*) at the beginning of some of the annotations, which fits with the impression that this book was tailored for the classroom. It emphasises the fact that a teacher could be treating both text and commentary to guide the reading process of his students.¹⁷

Leiden, Universiteitsbibl. BPL 189

BPL 189 is a very different example. It is a booklet measuring just 175 mm × 105 mm, a composite of several parts which were written in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, containing a peculiar, seemingly incoherent or haphazard collection of texts, ranging from *computus* (Johannes Constantiensis, *Epistola de luna paschali*) to canon law (Fulbert of Chartres, *Liber penitentialis*), and from classical comedy (Terence) to rhetoric (Cicero’s *De inventione* and Thierry of Chartres’ commentary on Cicero).¹⁸ Especially this last part of the manuscript (ff. 42–47), which was made in France in the second half of the twelfth century, is interesting for the purpose at hand. Its layout is the opposite to the books described earlier: it has small, fully filled pages, with just a few millimetres of margin: a writing space of 167 mm × 97 mm on a page of 175 mm × 105 mm – a marginal space of just 12 per cent. Yet a reader still felt invited to add little notes and signs in the margin: we can see a few key words, sometimes written at a 90 degree angle so as to fit on the page, some hooks, crosses, quotation marks and a few faces, both smiling and non-smiling, which illustrate the content of the text in a playful way: the frowning face stands next to a passage about ‘empty’ eloquence without *sapientia* (wisdom); the

smiling face stands next to a passage about how the faculty of eloquence makes mankind superior to animals (Figure 8.2).¹⁹ While it is difficult to put a date to the faces and signs, we can be certain that the key words and interlinear glosses are written in a contemporary hand. Since the ink of these markings matches that of the signs and faces, it is safe to assume that these too were contemporary with the main text. They seem to have been created to personalise this copy of Cicero's rhetorical treatise to the taste of the twelfth-century owner of these pages.

Leiden, Universiteitsbibl. BPL 91 and 92: Two Twelfth-Century Priscian Manuscripts

Finally, two manuscripts of Priscian's *Grammar*, BPL 91 and 92,²⁰ could be expected to reveal practices of teaching and learning in the twelfth-century classroom. In fact, however, their annotations are not unequivocal about their function. BPL 91 is an Italian manuscript of high quality produced in the second half of the twelfth century, with numerous contemporary and later annotations, but only in the first few pages. After these, the annotation quickly dwindles to almost nothing. The pages measure 260 mm × 165 mm, and the writing space measures 205 mm × 110 mm, leaving about 48 per cent of the page free for commentary. Thus we can see how the pages of this manuscript were laid out to contain commentary, but in this case they were prepared with less care than we saw in the other manuscripts: a column is left free on the outside of the text, but it is not pricked with extra vertical lines, or ruled. The designated place for commentary seems to have been the outer margin, but the top, inner and lower margins are occasionally used as well. The interlinear glossing is dense, but only at the beginning. The beginnings of annotations are, as a rule of thumb, marked with the usual paragraph sign, although some of these were added by later hands. A later hand has also inserted paragraph signs in the text at the beginning of each sentence. In this manuscript, furthermore, an inventive set of tie marks is made from dots, circles, lines and squiggles, in imaginative combinations. The large amount of correction is remarkable, again in different hands and belonging to different chronological layers of working on this text.

BPL 92 is a composite manuscript, consisting of four parts. Each of these units contains a part of Priscian's *Grammar*, and they must have been brought together with the purpose of creating one more or less complete copy. The first, second and fourth parts were all made in France in the twelfth century;²¹ the third was made in the thirteenth century, probably in

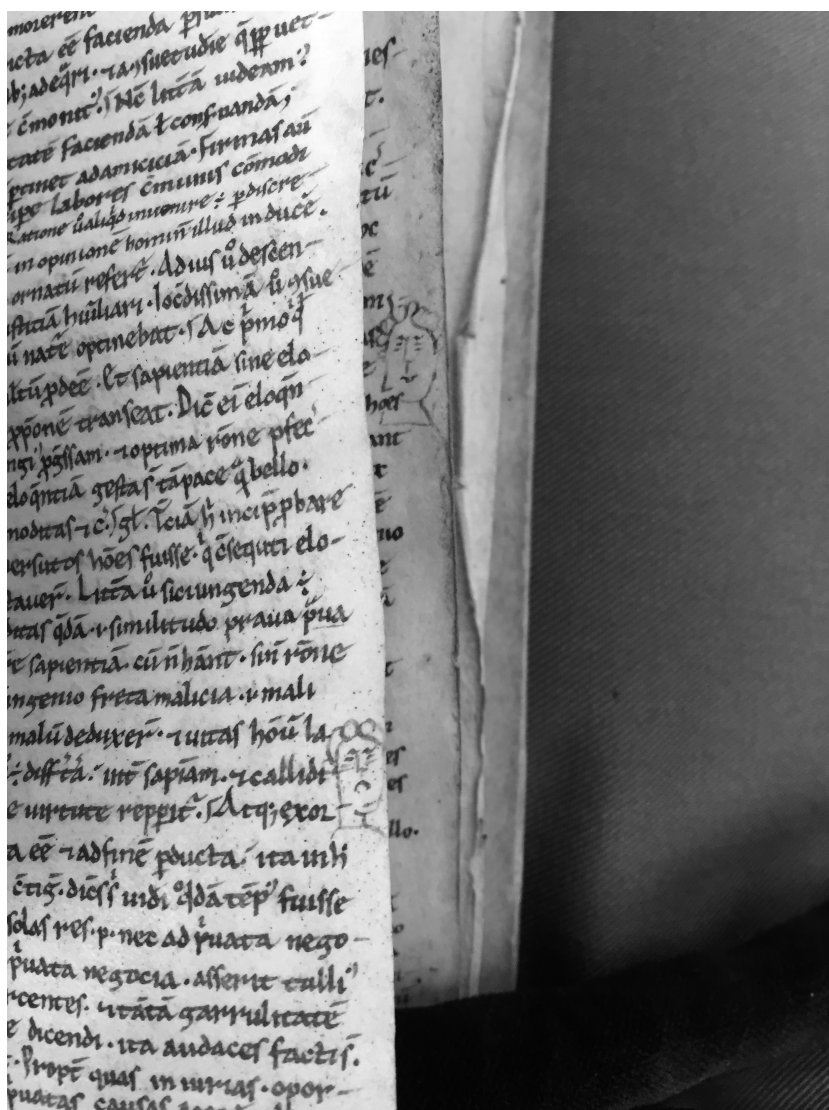


Figure 8.2 Faces on the edges. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BPL 189, ff. 44r and 45r.

the Netherlands, in order to supplement the other parts. Here too, space is available for commentary, especially in the outer margins, but it was not pricked or ruled for the purpose. In this case, the writing lines are not widely spaced either to provide for glossing. The marginal space available for annotations in the twelfth-century parts of the manuscript varies between 50 per cent and 62 per cent.

Many annotations are added in the margins, but most of these are not from the twelfth century. Thirteenth- and fourteenth-century hands left their traces in this manuscript, which suggest that it was only used for intensive study after the different parts had been assembled in their new composition. In the fourteenth century, the text was enriched with *nota* signs, pointing hands and faces to mark passages of special interest, indexing glosses to guide the reader through the text, and comments which engage with the book's contents. In the twelfth century, the marginal activity consisted mainly of corrections and the completion of a few lacunae.

The two Priscian manuscripts can thus be characterised as reflections of a teaching tradition which was, perhaps, no longer as fully alive as one can observe in some Carolingian manuscripts: here a full commentary is often added, including minute signs to mark grammar, syntax, scansion, Greek vocabulary and other phenomena.²² BPL 91 starts with a full copy of the settled commentary tradition from its exemplar, but quickly stops. In BPL 92, the text of Priscian is copied, but there is relatively little room for commentary and the marginal space was not prepared to contain any.²³

Books of History

When we turn from the manuscripts of the classics and classroom texts to books of history, a different picture of annotating practices arises. Whereas in the first category commentary was often available and needed to be fitted on the page together with the main text, in the historical genre this was, generally speaking, not the case. If we look at the margins of these books, they are rather empty at first glance, but if we look closer, several techniques which helped the readers to work with the texts they read come to the fore. They showcase a different practice of working with text than the manuscripts discussed earlier, yet we can still see how this was done with the use of the same marginal phenomena.

Leiden, Universiteitsbibl. VLF 39 is a large book (315 mm × 230 mm) produced in the first quarter of the eleventh century, probably in the

monastery of Mont-St-Michel, but corrected and annotated in the twelfth century. The book contains Gregory of Tours' *History of the Franks* and Ado of Vienne's *Chronicle*.²⁴ The text is laid out in two columns, leaving about 55 per cent of the page blank. In all this white space, however, just a few signs are inserted: a couple of *notae*, r's for *require* ('check', or 'look up') and an occasional q for *questio* ('question'). Some Roman numbers are added to give the text structure, and careful corrections are inserted over erasures or in the margin, with tie marks. On folia 5r, 6r and 11r, furthermore, the twelfth-century annotator added 'falsum est' in the margin, also carefully placed in the text with a tie mark, a remarkable sign of a critical reading of the text, which matches the corrections and the few *require*- and *questio*-signs found elsewhere in the manuscript.

Leiden, Universiteitsbibl. BPL 30, only slightly smaller (308 mm × 206 mm), was produced in the middle of the twelfth century, probably in the Benedictine monastery of St-Peter in Corbie.²⁵ It has a part of Eusebius' *Chronicle*, and Sigebert of Gembloux' continuation of it. The layout varies according to the number of columns the text needed, but generally slightly less than half the page is marginal space. Annotations are added in several layers, the earliest contemporary, the latest post medieval. Remarkable and probably part of the contemporary layer of annotations are the long *chi-rho* combinations which are found in the margins at several occasions: these signs, called *chresima*, mark passages of special interest or good use (after the Greek word *chresimos*, 'useful' or 'usable').²⁶ Furthermore, crosses mark either the beginning of passages or suspicious passages which needed to be checked. *Nota* signs and key words are occasionally added to help the reader find his way in the text, and red Roman numerals indicate the years. Because the annotations consist in large part of signs and not text, it is difficult to assess the chronological layers to which they belong. The use of these signs, however, points rather to an earlier than a later date: they were part and parcel of annotation practices of Carolingian times, and seem to have become less frequent after the tenth century. They thus seem a remnant of an older exemplar, copied together with the text in which they were used to guide the reader. Whether their use and function was still understood in the middle of the twelfth century is hard to guess. To some of the *chresima* extra *nota* signs have been added in a later hand, perhaps to clarify their meaning, but this is not always the case. More examples are needed of the use of these signs in the later period before we can fully understand their meaning and function in this manuscript.

Two Medical Manuscripts

I end my quick exploration of annotating practices with another textual genre: two medical manuscripts, an eleventh-century one from Monte Cassino and a twelfth-century one, probably from Spain. They are now kept in The Hague, Koninklijke Bibl. 73 J 6 and 73 J 7. The first, 73 J 6, is the famous *Liber pantegni*, the eleventh-century medical handbook of Constantine the African, dedicated by him to Abbot Desiderius of Monte Cassino.²⁷ The copy now resting in The Hague may have been written under supervision of the author himself. It contains the first ten theoretical books of Constantine's medical manual; the practical part is missing.

The book is long and narrow, 235 mm × 122 mm, but still laid out in two columns each 50 mm wide. Only 36 per cent of the page is left blank. The text itself is well articulated by red section titles. Very few annotations are added in the margin. I counted just two pointing hands, a single R (*require?*) and some lacunae made good in the bottom margin. In the beginning (ff. 2r–4v) and at the end of the book (ff. 85v–89r), additional medical texts and recipes have been copied in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In this part, a few *nota* signs have been added in both contemporary and later hands.

The Hague, Koninklijke Bibl. 73 J 7 gives a completely different impression. Here we have a much-used copy of Gariopontus of Salerno's *Passionarius*,²⁸ still in its original twelfth-century binding of linen covered with tawed skin. It is a fragile little book, measuring 200 mm × 140 mm, with a writing area of 175 mm × 113 mm, only 30 per cent marginal space. In the first quire of this book many marginal annotations have been added, which summarise material from the main text, function as a marginal index, and explain and expand the main text. As F. E. Glaze has argued convincingly, Gariopontus' *Passionarius* seems to have been used mostly as a schoolbook; the annotations in this particular copy confirm this. They are part of a settled commentary tradition, which was copied from one manuscript to another. There are no signs of a personal, ad hoc engagement with the text.

Practices Compared

In the earlier sections, I briefly described marginal phenomena observed in six books containing works of classical or school-authors, two books of history and two books with medical texts from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. I chose on purpose examples from different textual genres, so as

to be able to see different sets of annotating practices, with varying functions. My small selection is neither well balanced nor representative: it is a random selection of examples, certainly distorted and incomplete. Marginal practices are only recently starting to come into view as valuable sources for intellectual history and much of the terrain is still uncharted; bold conclusions are, therefore, yet out of place. Yet my observations in the small set of examples do reflect the wider patterns that I saw when going through the collection of photos assembled for Erik Kwakkel's research on the transformation of the book in the twelfth century.²⁹ A tentative comparison with earlier books and their practices of annotating (as inventoried in my own data set) can thus now be presented. And because some of the examples contained layers of annotations from the thirteenth century, some preliminary suggestions can also be made on how practices of annotations may have changed in the period beyond the twelfth century. All of these observations, however, will need to be backed up by proper systematic investigations in future research.

First, we can observe that just as in the ages before, books were in the twelfth century more often enriched with annotations than not. This phenomenon is not unique to the twelfth century: it is certainly valid for the period before this age, and also for the period after.³⁰ A book with empty margins is an exception. Marginal spaces are almost always put to some purpose, be it for the addition of a complete commentary or for the notation of just a few signs, corrections or lacunae. Just as in the previous ages and in the succeeding ages, the writing of a book was not finished with the writing of the last word of the main text on the final page: a process of correction, and in many cases also annotation, is part of its making. It is an essential characteristic of the handwritten book, which survives well even into the period of printing culture.³¹

Most of the activity we find in the margins of medieval books is witness to this continuing process of correction, explanation and organising. The exposition of a text in the shape of glosses and commentary (as we have seen with the manuscripts of the classics, the Priscians and Gariopontus' medical handbook) often suggests that the text was used in a classroom, be it within a monastic, cathedral or other kind of school.³² The enrichment of a text with added texts points at a continued reading and supplementing of the text, both by the author himself and by more distant readers. In only a minority of cases are we dealing with the 'voice of the reader', ad hoc annotations which reflect a personal interest in or engagement with the text. These witnesses, however, offer valuable insights into the culture of reading and writing; they give us a unique look over the

reader's shoulder. They can take the shape of added variants, comments, parallel texts or a-textual markings, such as signs (or drawings) flagging interest, approval or suspicion. All of these shapes that we encountered in my small set of examples are part of the traditional practices of annotating text, except for the pointing fingers or hands and the faces. It is hard to date these a-textual elements, but on the basis of my survey it seems safe to conclude that the adding of pointing hands and faces was an innovation of the late twelfth- or thirteenth-century reader. They serve the same function as the earlier *nota* signs, which, however, remain in use in the twelfth century and later. Some other symbols, which were used to mark interest and approval in earlier times, such as the *chresimon* or *asterisk*, are, so it seems, gradually eclipsed by the new practice.

It has been argued that the book changed face in the twelfth century so as to accommodate a new 'book fluency', or the ability to read a text quickly and accurately. As constituents of this new book format, reading aids such as running titles, paragraphs, quotation marks, marginal notes, cross references and diagrams have been mentioned.³³ Each of these phenomena, however, was already in use in the Carolingian world, and some may go back even further.³⁴ Running titles, for example, are a regular feature of the oldest books that survive to us from the fourth and fifth centuries; they are, in fact, interpreted as a consequence of the development from scroll to codex.³⁵ We can also see how hierarchically distinguished scripts were used to visually mark titles, subtitles, incipits and explicits from very early on.³⁶ Quotation marks are, again, a frequent phenomenon in Carolingian and older books: they are used to flag passages which are quotes, sometimes with and sometimes without explicit cross-references to the authors who are quoted.³⁷ The creation of thematically coherent compilations, for example of exegetical texts from different Church Fathers, is one of the more prominent intellectual activities of Carolingian theologians. The thirteenth century is often called the 'age of compilation',³⁸ but the ninth century could carry the same label. The annotating practices that Carolingian scholars used to perform the activity shaped the way in which texts were read, analysed, used and digested.³⁹ They are the cradle for the dialectical practices of twelfth-century logicians and theologians, who used comparison and textual analysis to build their arguments.

Marginal notes are also not new in the twelfth century. These were present in abundance in earlier ages, both in manuscripts of texts which came with a commentary tradition and in an ad hoc form. In the Carolingian copies of Virgil, Terence, Persius, Lucan, Boethius and Martianus Capella – all texts which came with settled commentary

traditions – text and commentary were brought together on the page to form a coherent whole, where the voice of the author and the voice of the expositor were both present in such a way that they could still be easily separated by the reader.⁴⁰ The layering of such commentary traditions is a well-known phenomenon: a first layer is usually entered into a marginal space which may be laid out for the purpose, with columns and writing lines, but more layers may be entered in this same marginal space in contemporary or later hands. The level of variance and flexibility is, therefore, much higher in these marginal texts than in the set texts that feature in the middle of the pages of our medieval books.⁴¹ The layout of such commentary texts varies, from blocks of texts placed close to the lemmata they refer to, to margin-filling continuous texts, in which the lemmata are distinguished by underlining, the use of capitals or coloured ink. This format is, if not invented, then at least used frequently in the ninth century, and continues to be used in the tenth and eleventh centuries. In ninth- and especially in tenth-century manuscripts, the use of tie marks is common, employing different styles of signs: letters from the Greek or Latin alphabets, reading signs such as dots or asterisks, Tironian notes, musical notation symbols and newly invented graphemes.⁴² In the twelfth-century manuscripts we saw a similar variance, be it that the beginning of an annotation was generally marked with a hook or paragraph sign. This particular feature I did not encounter in earlier manuscripts.

Diagrams are definitely not new either in the twelfth century: they appear, for example, in ninth-century copies of quadrivial or logical texts, explaining abstract matters with visual means, probably to enable an easier understanding or a better imprint on the memory. The fact that diagrams travel from one text to another certainly suggests that this new kind of visual literacy worked for at least some readers, and that they felt invited to quote their diagrams just as they felt invited to quote definitions.⁴³

So, I would argue that in our comparison of the practices of annotating books in the centuries before, roughly, 1100 and thereafter the changes are not grand but subtle. First of all, I would point to the *disappearing* of certain practices. In the Carolingian period Tironian notes are a common phenomenon in the marginal and interlinear space of manuscripts. They are used in the copying of commentary, where space was scarce and the system of shorthand notation came in handy. They were also used to annotate text with unobtrusive personal marks, to indicate which part of a text was to be copied, remembered or studied, or which context was to be

used for its interpretation.⁴⁴ I am not aware of any annotations in Tironian notes from the twelfth century: perhaps the practice of using them did not completely disappear, but at least the frequency of using them in the margin dwindled. A second practice which seems to have disappeared is the use of signs to mark suspicion, disagreement or even rejection of the main text at hand. In the earlier period a number of signs were used to flag unease or warn the readers, including the *obelus* (a horizontal stroke, with or without dots) and the *theta*. These signs were described by Isidore and Cassiodorus, further developed and prominently used in the Carolingian period, when they were an intrinsic part of the scribal toolkit.⁴⁵ Their use did not altogether disappear in the twelfth century, but they are certainly less frequent. In the examples assembled here, an explicit 'falsum est' was used instead of such a sign. On the other hand, the personal engagement with the text by means of marking it up with pointing fingers and faces seems to have intensified. This practice may have started in the twelfth century and was, according to my quick survey of material, in full swing in the thirteenth century. It may have been the result of the fact that a growing number of books, over the course of these ages, were owned by individuals rather than institutions and were, hence, more likely to be annotated with personal notes. The faces, hands and drawings that we found in later layers of annotations in some of the examples presented here may also point in this direction. More comparative research is certainly needed here.

Perhaps the new kind of reading of the twelfth century is not so much attested by marginal techniques as such. The differences in approach to text may be clearer from the *contents* of the books, with the introduction of the *logica nova*, new kinds of dialectical collections such as *summa* and *distinctiones*. In the margin, twelfth-century readers and writers mostly continued using the many marginal writing practices their predecessors already used before them, in order to correct, give structure and add commentary. They preferred to abandon a number of them rather than to add new ones. My sample was too small to be conclusive, but it would be worthwhile to further explore the hypothesis that the nature of marginal scholarship changed from active to more passive in the twelfth century, and that its active nature became more prominent only in the thirteenth century. The active part of twelfth-century scholarship thus may not have found its expression so much in the development of new techniques for the handling and appropriation of transmitted texts, but rather in the creation of new texts.

Notes

1. Cavallo and Chartier, *Reading*, 1–5.
2. For these ‘four S’s of text management’, see Blair 2010, 3.
3. Rouse and Rouse 1982; Hamesse 1999, 103–11; Kwakkel 2012, 79–80.
4. Tura 2005; Teeuwen 2011.
5. Contreni 2014.
6. The data sets are collected by the NWO-VIDI projects ‘Marginal Scholarship: The Practice of Learning in the Early Middle Ages (ca. 800–ca. 1000)’, led by Mariken Teeuwen, and ‘Turning over a New Leaf: Manuscript Innovation in the Twelfth Century Renaissance’, led by Erik Kwakkel.
7. Munk Olsen 1996, 1.
8. *Ibid.*, 5, 17.
9. Munk Olsen 1982–9, 2. 726. BPL 92A is one of six twelfth-century Virgils in the Leiden collection; the others are BPL 5, BPL 35, BPL 43, BPL 1048 and VLQ 42.
10. Gumbert 2009, 48 (01187–8), with added comments from Erik Kwakkel.
11. Kwakkel defined a book of such measurements as a ‘holster book’ and argued that the narrow format is a good fit for classroom use. Kwakkel 2012, 41–4.
12. Munk Olsen 1982–9, 2. 726.
13. Gumbert 2009, 70–2 (01300–01).
14. I thank Erik Kwakkel for dating the second marginal hand for me.
15. Gumbert 2009, 36 (01126–9).
16. Again, I thank Erik Kwakkel for his dating. He dated the most active later hand to the first half of the thirteenth century.
17. Reynolds 1996, 105.
18. The size, modest appearance and peculiar selection of texts suggest that this booklet may have been a personal *vademecum* of some scholar (from Chartres?), who may have carried it around for his own studies or teaching purposes.
19. I thank Irene O’Daly for her observations about the interpretation of the faces.
20. Gumbert 2009, 48 (01181, 01183–6), with added comments from Erik Kwakkel.
21. Kwakkel dates the first part to ca. 1100, the second and the fourth to 1100–50.
22. See, for one example among many, St Gallen, Stiftsbibl. 904 (www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/list/one/csg/0904); the marginal and interlinear annotations in this manuscript are fully explored by Hofman, online edition at www.stgallpriscian.ie/ (last consulted March 2016).
23. When in the twelfth century the grammatical handbooks of Donatus started to disappear, Priscian was still copied in relatively large numbers, only to be eclipsed by the new grammatical handbooks of Alexander de Villedieu and Évrard de Béthune in the thirteenth century. The presence of rather unannotated copies of Priscian, however, may be an early indication of its eventual loss of popularity: Holtz 2009.

24. De Meyier 1973, 1. 84–6.
25. Gumbert 2009, 26 (01072).
26. Steinová 2016, 211–4, 408–9.
27. Burnett and Jacquart, *Constantine*, 322; Kwakkel and Newton, in press.
28. The history of transmission and use of this text is described by Glaze 2008.
29. I am well aware that my selection is not consistent or well balanced: it is a random selection, chosen on the basis of the scanning photos assembled by Erik Kwakkel and my own quick search focused on manuscripts which would be easy to access for me, to wit the collections of Leiden and The Hague. Kwakkel's collection of photos (close to 4,700 in number) started with a full analysis of the pictures assembled in the *Manuscripts datées* series and expanded from there to include an even wider selection of manuscripts. My own data set contains a full analysis of the marginal activity in about 350 Carolingian manuscripts.
30. Jardine and Grafton 1990; Saenger 1999, 131–48.
31. Rouse and Rouse 1991; Blair 2010.
32. For a good analysis of annotations which could point to the intended use in a school setting for a manuscript, see Reynolds 1996.
33. See, for example, Illich, *Vineyard*, 93–114. Notably, although Rouse and Rouse 1982 are often mentioned when ideas about a direct relation between a changing face of the book and changing literacy are discussed, they themselves were careful when it comes to ascribing manuscript innovations to the twelfth century. In the work of Richard and Mary Rouse, it is generally emphasised that phenomena used in twelfth-century books had a history and that they were not newly invented.
34. Caillet 2009; McKitterick 2012, 23–31.
35. Lowe 1925, 1928.
36. Ganz 1995, 798–9.
37. McKitterick 2012, 25–7; Steinová 2016, 200–6; Teeuwen 2016.
38. Rouse and Rouse, *Authentic Witnesses*, 221–55.
39. Contreni 2014, 120.
40. Teeuwen 2015, 34–41.
41. Zetzel 2005.
42. In ninth-century manuscripts, tie marks are found in many shapes and sizes, but in the tenth century an even greater variety of signs is used to make the layout of text and commentary precise.
43. Eastwood 2011.
44. Teeuwen 2015, 41–3.
45. Steinová 2016, 121–51; Van Renswoude and Steinová 2017.

PART III

Types of Books

CHAPTER 9

Hebrew Books

Judith Olszowy-Schlanger

The intellectual innovation of the Christian world characteristic of the so-called Twelfth Century Renaissance (ca. 1075–1225), including the establishment of universities, scholastic methods of learning, new aesthetics in visual arts and architecture, changes of techniques and modes of book production and the appearance of the Gothic script type, had a lasting impact on Jewish culture, books and script. For the numerically small and relatively newly established Jewish communities in Franco-German lands, this time was marked by growing hostility from the Church and by accusations of ritual murder, massacres and persecutions.¹ Despite the fact that massacres accompanying the First Crusade of 1096 accounted for the deaths of almost half of the Jewish population in such places as Cologne, Worms or Rouen, for European Jews the twelfth century was a time of intense intellectual activity, with the development of new communities, their internal institutions and the unprecedented flourishing of learning.

Jewish scholars in France, Germany and England (the region collectively referred to in Jewish historiography as *Ashkenaz*, ‘Germany’) pursued the intense exegetical and legal work of previous generations, and introduced new dialectical and textual approaches to the study of the foundational religious texts: the Bible and the Babylonian Talmud. The French school of Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac (Rashi) of Troyes (1040–1105) reinvigorated the teachings of the masters of the Rhineland schools in Worms and Mainz (themselves inspired by the Oriental tradition of the rabbinic academies [*yeshivot*] in Iraq and Israel), by developing a literalist and contextual method of biblical interpretation (*peshat*). In addition, the main activity of the twelfth-century scholars in northern France was the philological and legalistic analysis of the Talmud. The so-called Tosafists (‘glossators’), Rashi’s descendants and disciples, including his two famous grandsons, Samuel ben Meir (known as Rashbam) and Jacob ben Meir (known as Rabbenu Tam), and his most faithful pupils, Simḥah of Vitry and

Shemayah, engaged in writing new-style commentaries to the previous generation's exegesis of the Talmud, as well as monographs on jurisprudence, liturgy, grammar and ritual reading of the Bible. The more traditional German Judaism also witnessed important intellectual changes and the production of original texts in the field of jurisprudence (*halakhah*) and liturgy, including commentaries on the liturgical poems (*piyyutim*). The German ascetic movement of Hasidei Ashkenaz, which achieved its apogee with Judah the Pious (ca. 1150–1217), produced theological and mystical books, such as the *Sefer Hasidim*.²

North-western European Jewish communities were not isolated islands of settlement. They maintained economic and intellectual relations with Jewish communities in Italy, whose influence was essential to northern European rabbinic learning and for the development of Hebrew script,³ and also on the Iberian Peninsula, in southern France, and even in the Near East. This unprecedented dynamism was also the outcome of close interactions between the Jews and their Christian neighbours. This is evidenced in the development of new epistemological methods in Jewish learning and changes in Jewish book-making techniques and script.⁴

Going well beyond similar clothing and casual marketplace discussions in the shared vernacular, contacts between Jews and Christians also involved intellectual pursuits. As far as Jewish book-making is concerned, the old tradition assimilated new elements, including Christian influences on book-materials, new conceptions of page layout and Gothic elements in the Hebrew script.⁵ The development of Gothic features in the Hebrew script in particular echoes the progressive passage from the Carolingian to the Gothic type in Latin scribal tradition.⁶

The intense text-based and text-oriented study in both the French and the German rabbinic schools was naturally accompanied by the manufacture and use of books. Of course, the Jews had become the proverbial 'People of the Book' long before the twelfth century. Their religious and intellectual life had centred around books and around the Book, the Bible, since antiquity. In the Middle Ages, their liturgy and daily life were literally governed by reading and writing. The medieval period had inherited the school system, in which young boys from the age of seven learned to read and write in Hebrew. Overall, the male part of Jewish society was highly literate by medieval standards; indeed, its very existence depended on literacy skills and bureaucracy. While no scriptoria or institutional libraries comparable to those in Christian monasteries and cathedrals are attested,

Jewish scholars in France and Germany possessed well-furnished private libraries which contained books produced locally as well as abroad.⁷

However, while the developments of the Latin script can be studied through hundreds of dated and localized books and documentary writings, extant Hebrew manuscripts from this period are unfortunately very few and far between. This is due to the tragic vicissitudes of the Jewish people, as well as their practice of discarding worn-out writings in a genizah rather than keeping them for posterity in institutionalized libraries and archives. Indeed, no dated Hebrew manuscripts from north-western Europe earlier than the twelfth century are known to us, and from the twelfth century only eight explicitly dated books survive (from between 1177 and 1216):⁸ Florence, Bibl. Naz. II.I.7 (1177, Babylonian Talmud);⁹ BL Arundel Or. 51 (1188/9, *Mahberet* of Menahem ben Saruq);¹⁰ London, Sotheby & Co., Valmadonna Trust Libr. 1 (1189, Bible);¹¹ Bologna, Bibl. Universitaria 2208 and 2209 (1193, Bible);¹² New York, Jewish Theological Seminary 8092 (1204, *Mahzor Vitry*);¹³ BAV Vat. ebr. 468 (1215, Bible);¹⁴ BAV Vat. ebr. 482 (1216, Bible)¹⁵ and BL Arundel Or. 2 (1216, Bible).¹⁶ With two exceptions, BAV Vat. ebr. 468 (Figure 9.1) and 482, both written by the same scribe, Hayyim ben Isaac, in La Rochelle, their place of production is not indicated.

The corpus can be broadened by some books that can be approximately dated, either by the presence of extra-textual inscriptions or on palaeographical grounds, and whose north-western European origin can be ascertained. For example, a siddur (daily prayer book), Oxford, Corpus Christi Coll. 133, can be dated to the twelfth century because its flyleaves contain accounts of a Spanish Jew who settled in England and supported himself as a moneylender. The list of his creditors contains well-known individuals (such as William de Chemillé, who left England in 1196 to become bishop of Angers and died in 1200 or 1202).¹⁷ A Pentateuch, Jerusalem, Nat. Libr. of Israel Heb. 4°5827,¹⁸ is datable because its handwriting is similar or identical to that of Valmadonna 1. The earliest manuscript containing the *Mahzor Vitry* (a liturgical and legal compendium), Paris, Victor Klagsbald Collection (*olim* Sassoon 535), is dated on the basis of calendars it contains to ca. 1145–64.¹⁹ Another liturgical text, contained in a binding fragment detached from Cambridge, Pembroke Coll. 59, must date from before 1200, because it was reused in a twelfth-century binding from Bury St Edmunds, possibly after the expulsion of the Jews from Bury in 1190.

Several manuscripts can be dated ca. 1200 on palaeographical grounds, such as Oxford, Corpus Christi Coll. 6 (Rashi), 165 (Rashi), Bodl. Libr. Opp. 627, Or. 6 (psalter), Opp. 717 (bible, Hagiographa), and Laud. Or.

168; Paris, Alliance Israélite Universelle 147 (Babylonian Talmud), BnF hébr. 326 (anthology of customs of the French school); Parma, Bibl. Palatina 2574 (*Mahzor Vitry*); BAV Vat. ebr. 109 (Babylonian Talmud), ebr. 113 (Babylonian Talmud) and others, including small fragments preserved in the bindings and several manuscripts in Hebrew copied by Christian scribes.²⁰

However small, the corpus of extant dated and datable manuscripts from the twelfth century shows a well-established tradition of book-making, with a diversity of technical and scribal devices and an array of literary genres, including the Bible, the Babylonian Talmud, commentaries, liturgy and grammar. The book materials, and notably the parchment, resemble those used in contemporary Christian manuscripts. Indeed, Jewish scribes in Europe used to acquire parchment from local non-Jewish parchment makers. The composition of the quires can of course vary slightly according to the book's quality or the position of a quire in the volume, but the majority of the quires are quaternios, unlike quires of the Hebrew manuscripts from the East or Italy, which usually contain five bifolios. As for the page and text layouts, they depended to a large extent on the type of text copied.

The extant twelfth-century corpus includes several bibles. This fundamental Jewish text was the basis of the synagogue ritual as well as study. The weekly portions (*parashiyot*, plural of *parashah*) of the Pentateuch (Torah) accompanied by additional readings from the Prophets (*haphtarot*) were read in a one-year cycle. Five books known as the Five Scrolls (*hamesh megillot*) were read as a part of the ritual for specific festivals: Song of Songs for Passover, Ruth for Shavuot, Lamentations for the ninth of Av, Ecclesiastes for Sukkot and Esther for Purim. The Pentateuch and the book of Esther were read from books in the traditional ancient scroll format. Unfortunately, no scrolls from twelfth-century northern Europe are known to us, but a number of rabbinic responsa and commentaries from the period and earlier deal with the highly codified rules of the scrolls' production and liturgical use. From the ruling of Rabbenu Tam (Tosafot on Babylonian Talmud, Megillah 19a), we gather, for example, that the liturgical scrolls in his time were written on parchment, on the flesh side. This is in contradiction to the rule of the Talmud itself (Babylonian Talmud, Megillah 19a ditto) that the scrolls should be written on hides treated with salt and flour and then tanned with gall nuts. The cream-white Ashkenazi scrolls on parchment of the later centuries (similar to the parchment used in Christian books) differ from the light-brown scrolls written on the hair-side of leather-like hides (*gevil*) which continued to be

produced according to the traditional recipe in some Oriental communities.²¹

The Torah scrolls were the property of the community as a whole and were kept at the synagogue. This can be gathered from a responsum concerning a legal conflict in eleventh-century Troyes, where the community feared that a certain ostracized family might retaliate by stealing the communal scrolls.²² Such scrolls were costly items, and some small communities apparently could not afford them, as suggested by discussions on the possibility of reading the weekly portion from a Pentateuch codex instead.²³ However, although the evidence is late, a list of Jewish books confiscated by Alfonse of Poitiers in 1268 contains many more references to scrolls than to Bible codices.²⁴

Unlike scrolls, several Bible codices of the twelfth century have been preserved. They display different book types and formats, and they contain either the entire Hebrew Bible, its three major sections – Pentateuch (Torah), Prophets (Nevi'im) and Hagiographa (Ketuvim) – or parts of the Bible such as separately written psalters²⁵ and Pentateuchs with the Five Scrolls (see later in this chapter). Two volumes of the Bologna Bible (Bologna, Bibl. Univ. 2209 and 2208), property of the convent of San Salvatore until the nineteenth century, contain the Hagiographa and the Prophets. The colophon of the scribe, Isaac ben Jacob, tells us that the book was commissioned by Menaḥem ben Yehoṣadaq and that the project covered the three sections of the Bible. Today the Pentateuch is lost,²⁶ but it was described as the first volume of this tripartite bible by Bernard de Montfaucon on his trip to Italy in 1702.²⁷ It is uncertain whether this large bible (405 mm × 330 mm, after trimming) was originally bound in one volume or three, as it was found in 1702. Traces of similar holes and stains at the end of the Hagiographa and the beginning of the Prophets indicate that the two extant volumes at least were bound together before 1702. However, the wrong order of the binding – Ketuvim preceding Nevi'im – shows that such binding was done at a later stage by new owners who ignored the correct order of the Hebrew Bible codex. The consonantal text of this bible is provided with full vocalization, cantillation signs (*te'amim*) and the critical apparatus of both the masora *parva* and the masora *magna*, as well as the Aramaic translation of the Pentateuch (Targum Onkelos).²⁸

The two bibles from La Rochelle, BAV Vat. ebr. 468 and 482, copied by Ḥayyim ben Isaac in 1215 and 1216, are both pandects, despite their small dimensions (218 mm × 165 and 225 mm × 170 mm). They contain vowels, *te'amim* and the masora *parva* and *magna*, as well as the Aramaic translation of the Pentateuch (in ebr. 482).²⁹ The colophon of the richly

illuminated Vat. ebr. 468 (f. 481r) calls the volume the 'Twenty Four' (עשרים וארבע), referring to the twenty-four books of the complete Hebrew Bible, rather than to its three separate units. Copying of the Bible both in one volume and in three is well attested among Oriental Hebrew codices as early as the tenth century.

A feature of European Hebrew manuscript production which is not a part of the Oriental heritage is codices containing only those biblical books and sections which are relevant for the liturgy. These books are not arranged according to the canonical order prescribed by the Babylonian Talmud³⁰ (with variants in medieval manuscripts), but follow the yearly cycle of liturgical reading. These volumes, well attested in Franco-German lands in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (much less frequently in Spain), contain the Pentateuch, the Prophetical readings corresponding to the pericopes of the Pentateuch and the Five Scrolls. The earliest example of such a 'liturgical Pentateuch'³¹ is Valmadonna 1, written in 1189, probably in England. This calligraphic manuscript of large dimensions (382 mm × 312 mm), unfortunately incomplete, contains vowels, *te'amim*, as well as both masora *parva* and masora *magna* and the Aramaic version. Jerusalem, Nat. Libr. of Israel, Heb. 4°5827, the handwriting of which closely resembles Valmadonna 1, is also a large vocalized Pentateuch (360 mm × 280 mm) with masora *parva* and *magna* and the Aramaic Targum. BL Arundel Or. 2 also contains the Pentateuch, Haphtarot and Five Scrolls with vowels and *te'amim*, but lacks the masoretic critical apparatus.

While it is by no means certain that these 'liturgical Pentateuchs' were indeed used for liturgical reading, even as private copies read silently during the public reading of the scroll by the cantor in the synagogue,³² they were certainly used for the study of the texts which are a part of the liturgy. It is possible that the most calligraphic codices served as models for the copying of liturgical scrolls.³³ It is relevant that MS Valmadonna 1 and Nat. Libr. of Israel Heb. 4°5827 lay out some specific texts, such as the Song of the Sea in Exodus 15, in a pattern prescribed for the liturgical scrolls, and use the forms of the letters such as curled *pe* (*pe lefufah*) or short additional vertical strokes known as 'crowns' (*taggin*) on the top of the letters *shin*, *'ayin*, *tet*, *nun*, *zayin*, *gimel* and *Ṣadeh*, and sometimes also *heth* and *qoph*, which are also a feature of the scrolls rather than codices (Figure 9.2).

A special arrangement of the text of the poetic parts of the Pentateuch is also found in Oriental and Spanish manuscripts. The layout of the narrative parts of Franco-German manuscripts is also reminiscent of the Oriental tradition. The main text is written in two columns (the aforementioned Bologna, Bibl. Univ. 2008, 2009, Vatican ebr. 468 and 482) or

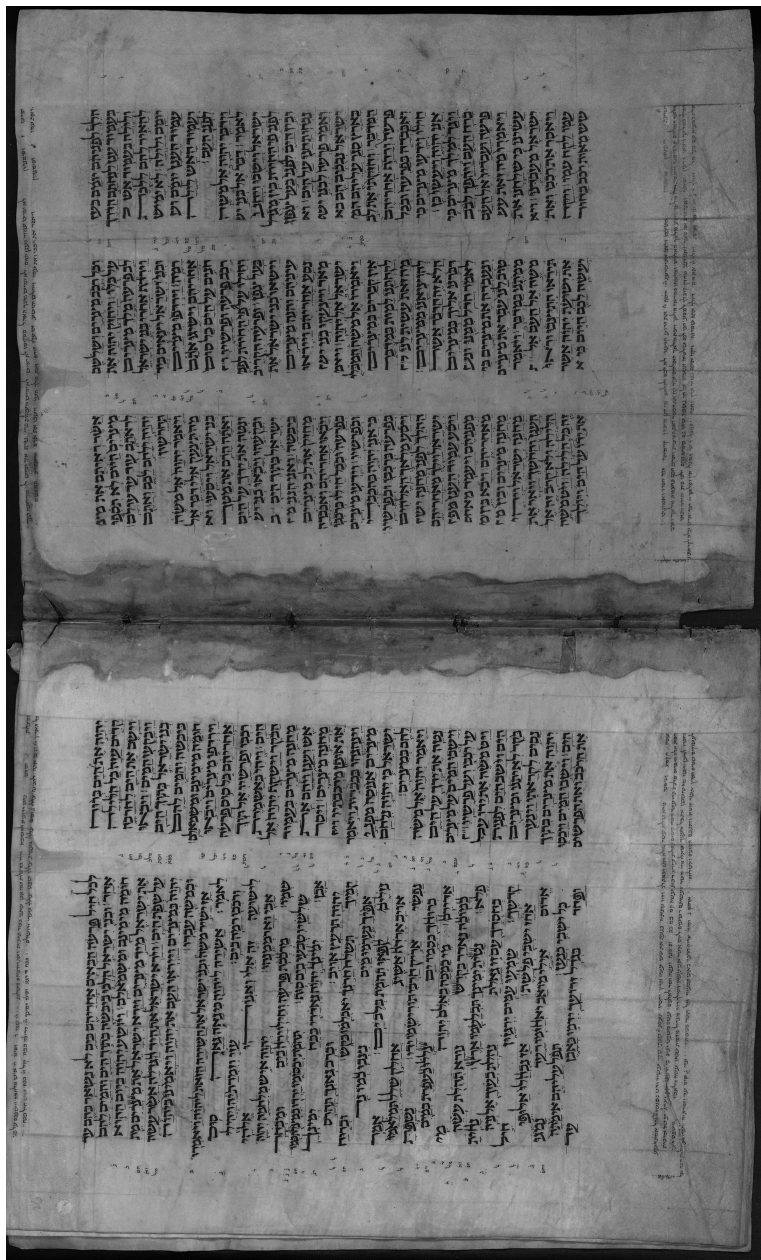


Figure 9.2 Pentateuch with interlinear Targum, masora *magna* and *parva*, England or Normandy, late twelfth century. Jerusalem, National Library of Israel, Heb. 4^o 827, ff. 25v–26r.

three columns (the aforementioned Valmadonna 1, Nat. Libr. of Israel Heb. 4°5827) per page. The short notes and symbols of the masora *parva* are placed in the outer lateral margins of each column, while the long quotations of the masora *magna* are written in long lines in the upper and lower margins. On many pages, the masora *magna* in the upper margin contains fewer lines of text than the lower margin: for example, one versus two in Valmadonna 1 and two versus four in Nat. Libr. of Israel Heb. 4°5827. Instead of always running straight, the lines of the masora *magna* sometimes form decorative micrographic patterns, of geometrical design in earlier manuscripts, including Oriental, Italian and Sephardi ones, and increasingly represent humans, animals and fantastic beasts in the thirteenth-century Franco-German tradition, despite the opposition of the Pietists.³⁴

In addition to the main Hebrew text, provided with vowels according to the Tiberian system and in some cases the cantillation signs and the masora, some of the bibles under consideration also contain the late antique Aramaic translation (the Targum), usually the Targum Onkelos for the Pentateuch (e.g. MS Valmadonna 1, BAV Vat. ebr. 482). No longer a Jewish vernacular, Aramaic gained in the Middle Ages the status of a learned tongue alongside Hebrew. Various sources from medieval France and Germany show that the Targum was part of the educational curriculum, that it was extensively used as heuristic means by Bible commentators, and that it played a role in Jewish liturgy. The ancient tradition of public liturgical reading of the Aramaic translation of the weekly Hebrew *parashah*, advocated by the Babylonian Talmud,³⁵ was maintained in medieval western Europe only on some festivals (the seventh day of the Passover and on Shavuot).³⁶ But the Targum also remained part of the educational syllabus and knowledge of it was seen as a mark of erudition and personal devotion.³⁷ Its role in the learning curriculum may explain why European Jewish communities continued to produce bilingual Hebrew-Aramaic Bibles even though Aramaic was not an essential part of the public liturgy.

As for its layout, the Targum may alternate verse by verse with Hebrew in the main columns of the text, as in Valmadonna 1. There are no graphic differences between Hebrew and Aramaic: the characters are written in the same style of script, of the same dimensions, and they are both vocalized with Tiberian vowels. This alternating layout is attested in some Oriental Bibles (e.g. Oslo, Martin Schøyen Coll. 206, eleventh century³⁸), sometimes with Arabic (often the *Tafsir* of Sa'adya Gaon) replacing Aramaic,³⁹ and is found in most copies of the Targum

in Ashkenazi manuscripts until the fifteenth century.⁴⁰ In the thirteenth century, however, some manuscripts of the Targum display a different layout. It is no longer intercalated with the main text but removed to its own separate column written in parallel with the Hebrew text. The earliest Ashkenazi example of the layout in columns is BAV Vat. ebr. 482. Here the Targum is neatly written in columns placed in the outer margins of each page, by the main scribe. These columns are narrower than those of the Hebrew text, and the characters are smaller. In order to correspond to the Hebrew, the lines of the Targum are arranged in small blocks, with the last line regularly centred.

The position of the translation in a parallel column is not attested in early Oriental Jewish bibles, but is rather a feature of multilingual Christian manuscripts. Going back to Origen's Hexapla, this layout appears notably in the twelfth-century polyglot bibles which include Hebrew written by Christians. This is the case of the *psalterium quadruplex* (Leiden, Universiteitsbibl. BPG 49a) in which the Hebrew text is juxtaposed to Jerome's Hebraica and the Greek Septuagint version to the Latin Gallicana,⁴¹ or the Hebrew-Latin Psalter, Leiden, Universiteitsbibl. SCA Hebr. 8 (Or. 4725).

The influence of Christian models can be detected also in the layout reminiscent of the Latin manuscripts of the *Glossa ordinaria*, in which the commentary is written not only in the outer lateral margins but also in the lower and/or upper margins. The bilingual psalter Leiden, Universiteitsbibl. SCA Hebr. 8 (Or. 4725), written probably in Canterbury ca. 1150, is an example of such an arrangement: the central column contains the Hebrew text, accompanied by Jerome's Hebraica (incomplete), while the outer margins contain an abridged version of Pseudo-Jerome, *Breviarium in Psalmos*.⁴² This commentary sometimes overflows into the upper margin, as on f. 3r. The *Glossa* layout, with the Pentateuch in the middle and other texts in lateral and lower margins, appears in BL Arundel Or. 2. Here, however, the marginal columns contain the text of the Five Scrolls, written in small characters of uncalledigraphic square script as used for masoretic notes. The *Glossa* layout in this manuscript does not play its original role of commentary or translation of the Pentateuch; rather it is a device to economize parchment by filling the margins with texts not directly related to the main one.

The *Glossa ordinaria* layout inspired by Latin manuscripts would become a standard layout for the Talmud, legal and liturgical commentaries in the next centuries. In the twelfth century, however, manuscripts

containing *halakhic* (legal) text and rabbinic commentaries display a simpler arrangement. The earliest dated Ashkenazi manuscript of a legal text is a copy of part of the Babylonian Talmud (Florence, Bibl. Naz. II.I.7) from 1177. It is laid out in two parallel columns per page. This arrangement is found in other early Talmuds, such as BAV Vat. ebr. 109 and 113. It is also found in Oxford, Corpus Christi Coll. 6, written ca. 1200, probably in England, containing Rashi's commentary on the Prophets and Hagiographa, and in a copy of the *Mahzor Vitry*, New York, Jewish Theological Seminary 8092, dated to 1204.⁴³ The layout of the Talmudic and rabbinic texts in two parallel columns in Ashkenaz is reminiscent of manuscripts produced in Italy in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It differs, however, from the early Oriental tradition, as represented by the fragments from the Cairo Genizah, in which Talmudic manuscripts, rabbinic commentaries and legal monographs tend to be written in long lines, in one block of text per page.

The page layout in long lines is also attested in our twelfth-century Ashkenazi corpus, where it appears in dictionaries and prayer books. Among such manuscripts are the copy of the biblical dictionary *Mahberet* of the Spanish lexicographer Menaḥem ben Saruq (ca. 920–70), BL Arundel Or. 51 written in 1188/9, as well as the prayer books Oxford, Corpus Christi Coll. 133, the fragment Cambridge, Pembroke Coll. 59 and the earliest extant copy of the *Mahzor Vitry*, Klagsbald (*olim* Sassoon 535). All three are rather small manuscripts measuring respectively 145 mm × 133 mm, 148 mm × 298 mm (size of the incomplete fragment consisting of part of a bifolio) and 195 mm × 160 mm. To facilitate navigation through the text, a hierarchy of script sizes has been employed; the new lexical entries or new sections of the prayers or their commentaries are written in larger, more calligraphic, square script.⁴⁴ The *Mahberet* curiously employs the forms of the letters normally reserved for the scrolls, such as the *pe lefufah*, as a decorative element, which singles out the headings.

Conclusions

This brief presentation of Hebrew manuscripts of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries indicates a diversified tradition of book-making, in which ancient practices inherited from Oriental models coexist with elements which evidently rely on contemporary Christian visual arts and books. New page layouts of Latin and vernacular manuscripts, as well as Gothic script-type, considerably influenced Hebrew Ashkenazi layouts and scripts from the late twelfth century onwards.⁴⁵ All this, of course, implies

Jewish knowledge of Christian books. Such a familiarity is not, however, self-explanatory, and merits discussion.

Contacts between Christian and Jewish scholars in the twelfth century are amply documented. In Paris, Andrew of St-Victor consulted Jews when working on his Bible commentaries. In England, scholars such as Herbert of Bosham⁴⁶ and the author and the anonymous copyist of the *Odonis Ysagoge in theologiam* (Cambridge, Trinity Coll. B. 14. 33)⁴⁷ display an adequate knowledge of Hebrew, and had evidently studied the Hebrew Bible and rabbinic biblical commentaries, especially those of Rashi, for a better understanding and correction of the Vulgate. Contacts between Jews and Christians were by no means a one-way traffic, delivering the '*Hebraica veritas*' to Christians. Jews too were attracted to the learned culture of their Christian surroundings. They were admittedly excluded from formal education in its official language, Latin, the domain of ecclesiastical circles (in this respect, the Jews did not differ from the majority of the lay Christian population). They spoke the local vernacular as their mother tongue, while learning to read and write in Hebrew. However, recent research indicates that twelfth-century Jews were better Latin users and readers than had been previously thought. A good working knowledge of the Latin script and language was a necessity for Jewish trade and monetary transactions, since these were often accompanied by written documents, as were trials and decisions of Christian courts. Ignorance of the prevalent legal and administrative language would have left the Jews rather helpless in coping with the legal intricacies of their daily life and business.⁴⁸ Moreover, some Jewish scholars actually mastered Latin and even used it in their scientific works, as was the case of Abraham Ibn Ezra (ca. 1089–1164), of Spanish origin but active in Normandy and England.⁴⁹

That granted, the acceptance of Christian scribal models goes beyond such intellectual contacts between Jews and Christians, or the question of fluency in Latin. It implies more specifically that Jewish scribes had access to actual books written in Latin script, and that they were able to consult them and to appreciate their layout and composition. Colette Sirat has suggested that even when Jewish individuals lacked formal knowledge of Latin, they could still handle Latin books, even if they did not necessarily read them. Books were, for instance, frequently pawned to guarantee monetary loans, and many Latin volumes bear Hebrew inscriptions to this effect.⁵⁰ Bookish contacts were probably easier in circles within which individuals engaged in work or study in common. For instance, the production of bilingual Hebrew-Latin Bibles, which began in the twelfth

century and continued through the thirteenth, witnesses to a good knowledge of Hebrew script by Christian Hebraists, but also to a close collaboration between Jewish and Christian scribes in the making of their books.⁵¹

In any case, while literary accounts of Jewish communities in twelfth-century Europe tell a story of persecutions, exclusions and spatial segregation from their Christian environment, other historical sources such as material culture, including of course books, show on the contrary a high degree of proximity. Hebrew manuscripts are an excellent example of shared techniques and aesthetic models, and a mark of Jewish familiarity with Christian books and book-making.

Notes

1. For a recent overview of Jewish settlements in northern France and Germany, see Toch 2013, 66–74.
2. Incidentally, this work is a mine of information about Hebrew books as it contains more than 200 rules and prohibitions designed to preserve the books from profanation: see Sirat et al. 1996.
3. Some sources stemming from the school of Rabbi Eleazar ben Judah of Worms (ca. 1176–1238) attributed the beginnings of Talmudic learning to the tenth-century arrival in Mainz of a family of Italian rabbis and cantors, the Kalonymos, from Lucca. Although legendary, these accounts echo the fact that Italy and the Rhineland were connected by commercial routes, and travels of scholars were attested: see Grossman 1975.
4. Sirat 2000; Isserles 2014.
5. For a description of the main features of the Ashkenazi Gothic script and its similarities to Latin scripts, see Sirat and Dukan 1976; Engel 2014.
6. Kwakkel 2012.
7. Grossman 2001, 136.
8. For a detailed codicological description of the dated manuscripts, see Sfordata, the database of the Israeli team of Hebrew codicology under the responsibility of Malachi Beit-Arié, at <http://sfardata.nli.org.il/sfardatanew/home.aspx>.
9. See Rosenthal 1972; Beit-Arié, Sirat and Glatzer 2006, 46–61.
10. Beit-Arié, Sirat and Glatzer 2006, 76–81.
11. Previously Sassoon collection, n° 282. See Sassoon 1932, 1.16–18; Beit-Arié 1985; Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, 238–42; Beit-Arié, Sirat and Glatzer 2006, 82–7.
12. This unit is composed of two volumes kept at the Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna. MS 2008 (Hagiographa) follows MS 2009 (Prophets). The initial volume of this three-volume bible, originally kept at the convent of San Salvatore, the Pentateuch, was lost when the manuscripts of the Bologna religious institutions were transferred to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris,

- by the order of Napoleon Bonaparte. See Weil-Guény 1991, 293–5; Beit-Arié, Sirat and Glatzer 2006, 108; Perani and Corazzol 2013, 44–50.
13. Goldschmidt 1966, 63–75; Isserles 2012, 2. 320–7.
 14. Mortara Ottolenghi 1985, 149–56; Richler et al. 2008, 406–7.
 15. Richler et al. 2008, 417–8.
 16. Margoliouth 1899, 41–2 n° 68.
 17. Entin-Rokéah 1985. The handwriting of this siddur is not very proficient, but there are no grounds to suspect that it was copied by a Christian, as did Ta-Shma 2004, 32.
 18. The script of this codex of the Pentateuch resembles that of Valmadonna 1, and it is possible that they were the work of the same scribe: see Glatzer 1985, 28–9 n° 22.
 19. This manuscript is most probably the earliest known copy of the *Mahzor Vitry*. The calendars it contains suggest a date between 1145 and 1164. Stern and Isserles 2015 argue for an even earlier date of 1123.
 20. Olszowy-Schlanger 2003.
 21. Haran 1985, 54–5.
 22. Grossman 2001, 131.
 23. Ta-Shma 2004, 171–81.
 24. See Nahon 1966; Lévy-Willard 2008, 44.
 25. Several extant psalters written ca. 1200, probably in England, may have been written for Christian scholars, e.g. BnF hébr. 113 or Bodl. Libr. Or. 621.
 26. The Pentateuch disappeared during Napoleon's confiscation of the ecclesiastical properties in Italy, when the manuscripts were temporarily transferred to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris: Perani and Corazzol 2013, 45.
 27. Montfaucon 1702, 406–7.
 28. Hebrew script included originally only consonants. In order to preserve the tradition of the correct reading of the Hebrew Bible, the language of which had not been the spoken vernacular for centuries and pronunciation threatened by oblivion, three main systems of the notation of the vowels (*niqud*) were created in the East, probably in the early Islamic period: Babylonian, Palestinian and Tiberian (the latter still used today). Scholars, known as *masoretes* ('transmitters of tradition') added vowels represented by series of small graphic signs (mainly dots, strokes, stylized letter shapes), above and/or below the lines of the consonantal text in the Bible codices. Liturgical scrolls became an object of strict normative rules, and continued to transmit the consonantal text only. Any additions or corrections to this sanctified text would render the scroll unfit for ritual use (*pasul*). Most medieval Bible codices contain vowels signs. In addition to the vowels, some more elaborate bibles which were used for study or as models for the copy of other books (known as 'masoretic codices') often contained signs of cantillation or 'accents' (*te'amim*). These *te'amim* record the intonation of the reader's voice, the melody of the liturgical reading. Corrections and textual annotations appear as critical apparatus,

- known as masora. Short corrections, reading variants and numbers of the occurrence of specific rare words or forms are written as abbreviations in lateral margins and are called the small masora, often referred to in Latin as *masora parva*. Upper and lower margins contain longer textual annotations, often containing biblical verses illustrating a specific textual issue. These annotations are known as the great masora or *masora magna*.
29. Richler et al. 2008, 406–7 (BAV Vat. ebr. 468) and 417–8 (Vat. ebr. 482).
 30. BT, Baba Batra 14b–15a.
 31. For this term, see Stern 2012, 290–301.
 32. This could be a function of small portable codices. In several thirteenth-century small volumes the Pentateuch is copied alongside a prayer book and a number of other texts of the traditional Jewish bookshelf, such as BnF hébr. 633, measuring only 90 mm × 70 mm or the magnificently illuminated ‘Northern French Miscellany’, BL Add. 11639, 165 mm × 125 mm. On the reading of the *parashah* and Targum from personal books during the synagogue service, see Isaac of Vienna’s mention of his masters R. Judah he-Ḥasid and R. Abraham ben Moshe, who ‘read twice the Bible in Hebrew and once the Targum during the public reading from the Sefer Torah by the cantor’, *Sefer Or Zaru’a*, part 1, Hilkhhot Qeriat Shema, par. 11.
 33. See Olszowy-Schlanger 2012, 28.
 34. Sirat et al. 1996, 26.
 35. BT, Berakhot 8a: ‘Rav Huna ben Judah says in the name of Rabbi Ammi: A man should always complete his portions together with the congregation, reading the Hebrew text twice, and Targum once.’
 36. As recorded in the *Mahzor Vitry*, 158, n° 166, and Goldin 1995, 21.
 37. *Sefer ha-Roqeah* by Eleazar ben Judah of Worms (ca. 1176–1238) (Hilkhhot Shabbat, par. 53) stipulated that one must read (privately rather than during the synagogue service) the weekly *parashah* twice in Hebrew and once in Aramaic for the Shabbat morning prayer. Eleazar of Worms considered that a real scholar must know the Targum because it helps him to understand the Hebrew Bible: Urbach 1963, 4. 111, and esp. Kanarfogel 1992, 88. Isaac ben Moshe of Vienna (1189–1250) implied that elementary teachers should instruct their pupils in the weekly *parashah* together with the Targum or Rashi’s commentary; see *Sefer Or Zaru’a*, part 1, Hilkhhot Qeriat Shema, par. 12. The study of the Targum together with the Hebrew Bible is also described in the ideal model curriculum in the *Sefer Huqqei ha-Torah*: Kanarfogel 1992, Appendix A: The origin and orientation of *Sefer Huqqei ha-Torah*, ibid., 101–15.
 38. www.schoyencollection.com/palaeography-collection-introduction/aramaic-hebrew-syriac/4-6-6-hebrew-square/ms-206.
 39. See Olszowy-Schlanger 2012, 34–5. For Bible codices with interwoven Sa’adya’s translation, see Vollandt 2009.
 40. See Peretz 2008, 58; Attia 2014, 110.
 41. See Olszowy-Schlanger and Stirnemann 2008.
 42. Lieftinck 1955, 97–104, at 98.

43. For a two-column layout in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Ashkenazi Talmudic manuscripts, see Kogel 2014, 121–2.
44. See Isserles 2014.
45. For a description of the main features of the Ashkenazi Gothic script and its similarities to Latin scripts, see Sirat and Dukan 1976; Engel 2014.
46. De Visscher 2014.
47. Landgraf 1934; Von Mutius 2006.
48. Mundill 1998, 28; Olszowy-Schlanger 2011, 233–50.
49. Smithuis 2006.
50. Sirat 1999.
51. Olszowy-Schlanger 2003, 58–66.

*Liturgical Books**Nicolas Bell*

As in so many other respects, the twelfth century was a period of substantive change in the nature and appearance of books intended for use in public worship. Several of the rites and ceremonies recorded in liturgical books were established in Carolingian times and remained largely constant into the later Middle Ages, even in their finer details.¹ However, there were many changes to the ways in which their texts were presented on the page, and a general expansion in the number and variety of materials used in liturgical celebration. Probably more parchment was expended in the twelfth century on liturgical manuscripts than on any other type of book. All churches were required to have several different books in order to fulfil their liturgical obligations, and the variety in content and scope of these volumes changed considerably over time, leading to them frequently being amended and replaced.

New Books

In parallel with the diversity of new texts, the twelfth century saw increased standardisation in the books central to organised worship. Changes took effect at different rates dependent on geographical location and under the influence of different monastic orders and diocesan contexts. The introduction offered here is restricted for the most part to those patterns of change which can be said to hold across Western Europe, an approach which comes at the expense of particular details which could be observed in more specific circumstances. Viewed through this wide lens, the most notable development in the design and content of liturgical books over the course of the century was the consolidation of material previously spread across several different books into one main book for the Mass and one for the Divine Office: the missal and breviary, respectively.²

The missal was intended to be the book for the celebrant of the Mass, but was a relatively late invention. In the earlier Middle Ages, each officiant

in the liturgy was provided with a manuscript containing only the texts required for that role. The book for the priest officiating at the Mass was the sacramentary, which contained only the prayers recited by the celebrant: the collect, preface, canon, secret and post-communion prayer, and some prayers of blessing. Other books contained the texts required by other participants in the liturgy: the Bible readings prescribed for each service were provided in a lectionary (or a separate epistolary and evangeliary for the subdeacon reciting the epistle and the deacon reciting the gospel), while the Psalm verses and other sentences from Scripture which formed the repertory of chants sung by the choir were contained in the gradual, sometimes with a separate book for soloists known as the cantatorium. Instructions for how the various ritual elements required in the Mass were put together would be recorded in an ordinal, and details of the ceremonial actions required were presented in a customary.³

From the late eleventh century onwards it gradually became normal for the celebrant to be required to participate in all aspects of the Mass, reciting to himself the chants as they were sung by the choir, and following the Bible readings on the page rather than simply hearing them read by the deacon and subdeacon. There was also an increase in the popularity of private Masses said by the priest without choir or separate readers, a practice which would become much more widespread in the thirteenth century.⁴ For both these purposes the celebrant required more information than was provided in the sacramentary alone, and it thus became commoner to merge the contents of all of the separate books of the Mass. A missal therefore contains the central Mass prayers from the sacramentary alongside Bible readings and chant texts (and sometimes also their melodies), together with extensive rubrics to explain how everything should be done, and by whom. The combined contents of the missal enabled the priest to follow the words of other participants, but also to say them himself, either privately or in a smaller setting.

This comprehensive form of missal, known to scholarship as the plenary missal or *missale plenum*, thus contains almost all the liturgical information required to reconstruct the Mass.⁵ The sacramentary became effectively redundant as a separate book, as to a large extent did the ordinal and customary. Churches were nevertheless still required to possess some of the other books which continued in use alongside it. Bible readings could, of course, be read from a complete Bible, but in practice it remained normal for the prescribed readings to be copied out in lectionaries. The missal did not often include musical notation for chants other than those sung by the celebrant, although examples of fully notated missals are known from the

late eleventh century onwards. The singers responsible for the chants sung throughout the Mass therefore continued to use the gradual, which remained in use as a discrete book throughout the Middle Ages. There were major changes in the appearance of musical notation through the twelfth century, discussed in what follows; one immediate consequence was that the gradual can often be a physically larger book than the missal, despite its much more limited contents.

Outside the Mass, the services of the Divine Office were catered for in a directly comparable way by the breviary, which conflated all the required texts that had earlier been found in separate volumes: readings from the Bible and the Church Fathers in an office lectionary, collects and other prayers in a collectar, chants in the antiphoner and hymns in a hymnal. Central to the Divine Office was the recitation of the Psalms, and a psalter was therefore often bound with the breviary (though the psalter as a stand-alone volume marked up for liturgical use also remained common throughout the Middle Ages, sometimes intended for lay readers). The services of the Divine Office follow either the monastic or the secular cursus, the primary difference being in the services of the Night Office, which were far more extensive in the monastic cursus.

All the services of the Divine Office consist of prayers, Psalms and readings, interspersed with chants. As with the missal, there was generally not enough room to include musical notation in the breviary; it usually provided the words without the music, while the chants were transmitted separately in an antiphoner. Moreover, the readings prescribed in breviaries were often much shorter than in full lectionaries. This demonstrates either that the option was open for a much briefer rendition of the Office than would result from the full readings or that the breviary was not intended completely to supplant the earlier books, but merely to act as a means of clarifying the connections between them.⁶

The earliest breviaries are generally small and of low grade, which raises questions about their liturgical function. The larger volumes of later centuries were clearly designed to rest on a lectern in the centre of the choir, so that successive officiants in the liturgy could come forward to recite from the book. But it cannot be presumed that this shared use was always the case, and the relatively smaller page size of the earliest breviaries suggests that the initial purpose of the compilation of these volumes was to enable the book to be easily portable. Members of a monastic community could then say the Office privately while travelling or infirm, and secular clergy could carry the book so as to fit the Office between their other duties. The smaller breviary continued in use alongside larger volumes in

later centuries, sometimes reduced to pocket size and clearly intended for personal use.⁷

Modern scholarship has tended to give greater prominence to the breviary than the other books of the Office, primarily because it helpfully provides all the liturgical information in one place. (A note of caution should be expressed here, since the readings copied into portable breviaries are often shorter than those in corresponding lectionaries.) The evidence of book-lists, parish visitation returns and other inventories shows, however, that even by the later Middle Ages the breviary was not always required by a church, the older books retaining their function for individual components of the service.

New Feasts

As well as being the period when the contents of diverse books were consolidated into the missal and breviary, the twelfth century was the time in which another structural aspect of liturgical books came to be standardised to an extent not previously seen, in the separation of temporal and sanctoral feasts. In previous centuries, no normal pattern had been decided upon, but it was common in many service books for feasts falling on fixed dates in the calendar, such as saints' days, to be fitted in between the moveable feasts of the Christian year, which were dependent on the varying date of Easter. Such a scheme was possible in the earlier Middle Ages because the practice of commemorating saints' feast days through a specially composed Office and Mass was restricted to only a small number of major saints. The majority of these festivals, moreover, fell during the summer months, thereby avoiding conflict with the major moveable feasts of Easter, Ascension and Pentecost. Other feast days were concentrated around Christmas, when the temporal feasts in the life of Christ were themselves on fixed dates (the Nativity on 25 December, Epiphany on 6 January and Presentation on 2 February). It was inevitable that some of the moveable temporal feasts would become misaligned with the fixed sanctoral feasts on occasion, but this apparently did not cause undue complication for users of the books. The calendar would effectively act as an index to the fixed feasts, and sometimes included notes of the first and last possible dates of Easter, which would aid navigation of the rest of the book.⁸ The ordinal, meanwhile, explained at some length how to cope with clashes of date, such as when Good Friday falls on 25 March, the feast of the Annunciation.

By the eleventh century, the proliferation of new saints' feasts, each with its own proper chants and lections, meant that the intercalation of fixed and moveable feasts had become far more complex than before. Therefore it quickly became normal to segregate feasts into two categories of temporal and sanctoral, the former charting events in the life of Christ and the latter commemorating saints and other festivals on fixed days of the year. There remained a few anomalies, such as St Stephen and St John the Evangelist, who were generally retained in the temporal section as they formed part of the Christmas cycle of feasts on 26 and 27 December. But by the twelfth century most books of the Mass and the Office were divided into these two complementary cycles. It became standard for the temporal feasts to begin with Advent Sunday, whereas earlier books had sometimes begun the year with Christmas, and the sanctoral feasts were arranged in the order of the calendar, either starting or ending with St Andrew on 30 November, which falls within Advent in certain years but not others.

As the number of feasts increased, it became gradually less possible to fit all of the required texts into a single codex. Books were therefore sometimes split into two volumes, either with separate volumes for the temporal and the sanctoral cycles or by separating the summer and winter, a *pars aestivalis* and *pars hiemalis*, each volume containing separate sections of temporal and sanctoral feasts for the relevant portion of the year. Division of this sort first became necessary with the breviary, and became more normal only in later centuries for other books such as the missal, antiphoner and gradual.⁹

New feasts demanded new compilations of texts, and the twelfth century saw the flourishing of the versified Office, in which a coherent series of chant texts was composed in verse to present the life of the saint, following a formulaic pattern.¹⁰ Chants of the Office had sometimes been written in verse since the ninth century, but it was only from the eleventh century that an entire series of chants for a feast would be presented systematically in the same verse form, and in the twelfth that the system became firmly embedded. New Offices were integrated into antiphoners and breviaries, but also circulated independently in self-contained *libelli*, or as an appendix to a manuscript of a saint's *vita*.¹¹ An example is shown in Figure 10.1 (p. 187), a page from a fascicle containing the materials for the Mass and Office of the feasts of the deposition and translation of St Cuthbert, appended to a manuscript of his *vita*. Written in Durham in the mid twelfth century, this page (measuring 230 mm × 148 mm) displays the chants and texts for the Office and the Mass of the deposition in as

concise a format as possible, giving only the incipits of any texts which were more widely familiar.

Alongside these new developments, some of the older books remained in use with largely unchanged contents, but with certain alterations in appearance. For example, the liturgical psalter, showing the division of the 150 Psalms for use in the Divine Office over the course of the week, had taken a standard form since the early Middle Ages, but there came to be more variety in the additional contents supplied with the Psalms, and the way in which they were presented on the page.

Psalters had from an early age often included additional texts such as canticles and the *Te Deum* at the end of the volume, but came increasingly to incorporate cues, or first-line incipits, of hymns, antiphons and the short lessons known as *capitula* at the end of each Psalm, sometimes as well as a calendar at the front and a litany at the end. This expansion in contents effectively led to the psalter becoming complementary to the ordering of the breviary, where the full texts of lessons and antiphons were accompanied by incipits of the Psalms. On some occasions the full texts of the appropriate Psalms were combined with the full texts of particular Offices, forming a new category of book for a particular time of day: the diurnal for the daytime hours, the nocturnal for the Night Office, or the matutinal for the Office of matins alone.

The verses of Psalms had by long tradition been presented each on a new line, the division of the verse punctuated in accordance with the system *per cola et commata*, and this layout generally continued through the twelfth century. When the psalter was incorporated into a breviary, pressure on space meant that the mise-en-page was generally altered to a continuous text, the verse divisions marked by minor initials rather than being set on a new line. This more concise format also came into use in free-standing psalters in later centuries when space was a consideration.¹²

Reform and Renewal

At several periods in the Middle Ages, phases of liturgical renewal have been associated with an ambition to restore an original, pure and uniform system of worship to replace corrupted or diversified practice. The twelfth century saw some of the most sophisticated debates over liturgical propriety, and the most substantial changes in the presentation of liturgical manuscripts in this period derive from various programmes of reform. The early Cistercians were principally motivated by a desire to return to the purest forms of worship, in accordance with

their strict adherence to the Rule of Benedict. Any prayers or chants not mentioned in the Rule were stripped out, and what remained was generally shortened or simplified to conform with the principle of austerity. Under the leadership of Bernard of Clairvaux, a further programme of reform took place, this time not motivated by authentic adherence to Benedictine principles so much as a desire for uniformity of practice. Texts were normalised, chant melodies deprived of any extravagance, and an air of restraint and consistency was imposed over the liturgy.¹³

The Cistercian reforms had unexpected consequences for the appearance of liturgical books outside the confines of the Cistercian Order. In order to maintain strict uniformity of practice across the Order, new books were copied precisely from their exemplar. The success of the Order's expansion led to its books having a very similar appearance and content throughout Europe. The unprecedented uniformity was especially notable in the appearance of the musical notation, which was always written on a four-line stave in order to show pitches of the melody very clearly. The use of the ruled stave had become normal in France, but in parts of Germany it remained customary to use the older system of neumes, which showed the articulation and direction of the melody but not the precise pitches. The Cistercians were among the first to bring stave notation to these lands, and as the influence spread to secular houses, the system gradually usurped local practices, leading in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to the near-universal adoption of square notation on a four-line stave.

Imposition of standardised practice was not solely a Cistercian initiative. The principles of uniformity, as well as some aspects of the appearance of the books, were adopted by the Carthusians and by the Premonstratensian canons, and spread as those orders expanded. In the thirteenth century the Dominicans likewise followed the Cistercian model in some respects, and latterly also the Franciscans. Other more localised reform movements, such as the influential renewal of the Benedictine Rule centred on the monastery of Hirsau in the Black Forest, likewise led to uniformity in this area. The collective result of these varied attempts at standardisation was not true uniformity of practice, of course: it rather led to a growth in liturgical diversity as a single neighbourhood might witness the discrete rites of an increasing number of orders of monks, canons and friars alongside a diocesan liturgy with various parochial interpretations. But it could reasonably be claimed that the combined effect of these diverse reforms was that the

major liturgical books were substantially less varied across Europe by the end of the twelfth century than they had been at the start.¹⁴

Despite these programmes of uniformity, inconsistencies remained, and it is often difficult from a modern standpoint to be sure of how to translate the prescriptions in liturgical books into actual practice. A common example of such inconsistency can be seen in a close comparison of the calendar at the start of a book of the Mass or Office with the sanctoral section. The calendar will list the names of saints and the rank of each feast, which should correspond exactly with the information found at the appropriate place in the sanctoral section. It is surprisingly common for the two not to match up. Various reasons may be posited, depending on the precise circumstances. Throughout the Middle Ages, and especially from the twelfth century onwards, changes were frequently made to the calendar of saints: new feasts were promulgated, ranks of feasts were altered, local customs either were proscribed or came to be sanctioned over a wider area. It is very common for a liturgical calendar to be peppered with amendments in later hands, representing the adoption of new saints. Any addition to the calendar above a certain rank should be complemented with new chant texts and readings for the corresponding portion of the sanctoral, but inserting a substantial body of text into the tightly packed pages of the sanctoral was a much more complicated task than adding a single name to the calendar. Various solutions were found to this problem: a flap of parchment could be sewn onto the relevant page, a new bifolium or more could be sewn into the binding, an appendix of new feasts could be added to the end of the volume, or the problem could be left unsolved, with no new material added. The resultant mismatch between calendar and sanctoral could be perpetuated if the book became an exemplar for copying without careful prior thought being given to reconciling anomalies.¹⁵

The frequency with which these liturgical inconsistencies are found has additional consequences. Since colophons are very rare in liturgical manuscripts, most evidence for their date and origin is derived from the saints found in their calendars, Offices or litanies. The inclusion of a group of unusual saints in a calendar or litany can point to a particular locality for which the book was originally intended. In a tightly controlled order such as the Cistercians, new feasts were promulgated by the General Chapter with the expectation that every daughter house would promptly amend their service books. This ought to enable very accurate dating of a manuscript, since there should be a cut-off date for any manuscript after which feasts do not appear in the original phase of writing but only

in later additions. In practice the situation is often much messier: if a feast promulgated in 1180 is present, but not one from 1170, this could mean that the earlier feast was omitted, either by accident or by design, or that the later feast was included before gaining official sanction.

Reconciling the statutes of a monastic order with the evidence of liturgical books throws up many such difficulties, but these are multiplied in secular uses, where veneration of local saints was sometimes officially encouraged, sometimes merely tolerated, and sometimes took place despite prohibitions. In practice, therefore, all liturgical information must be treated with great care before drawing conclusions as to the date and place of origin of a particular book, and must take its place alongside the palaeographical and codicological evidence on which such decisions are normally based for other manuscripts.

Other Books

Together with the missal and breviary and the related books for the Mass and Office which remained in use alongside them, various other liturgical books are often found in both monastic and secular contexts. The *processional* is a small, portable book, often written out by a singer for his personal use, containing the antiphons and responsories sung in the processions of Candlemas, Palm Sunday and the Rogation days preceding the feast of the Ascension.¹⁶ The *manual* is literally a handbook, containing the occasional services of baptism, marriage, visitation of the sick and burial of the dead, and was therefore normally the property of a parish priest. In general, neither of these books was particularly ornate, and any basic illumination had the principal purpose of enabling easier navigation of the texts. Their contents did not change significantly over the course of the twelfth century. The *pontifical* contains the special services of the bishop: confirmation, ordination, the dedication of a church and sometimes also coronation. Episcopal blessings were sometimes incorporated into the pontifical, but sometimes were collected separately in a *benedictional*. Both of these bishops' books could be large, grand and ornate, but as with the processional and manual, the pontifical was mainly used while moving around, for which a portable format was preferable.¹⁷ With all of these books for occasional use, it is very difficult to make general comments about development in format and presentation through the twelfth century. Although their function remained essentially unchanged throughout the century, there was a wide range in their content,

proportions and layout, dependent entirely on the requirements of the intended user.

Figure 10.2 (p. 188) is an English pontifical of the second quarter of the twelfth century, with pages measuring 242 mm × 165 mm. This shows the first page of the order for the consecration of a church, an elaborate liturgy which occupies the next seventeen folios. The larger text size is used for all the words which the bishop is required to recite, and for the rubrics which instruct him in the required actions and movements. A smaller size of text is used for the incipits of psalms following the introductory rubric and for the antiphon with notation at the bottom of the page, since these were not performed by the bishop himself. The presentation of the music warrants separate discussion in what follows.

Music

The principal books of chant, the gradual for the Mass and the antiphoner for the Office, remained broadly similar in content throughout this period: the core repertory of chants was expanded by the addition of new saints' Offices, but otherwise remained very stable, with a largely fixed body of chants consisting of musical settings of biblical verses appropriate to the feast day. Bigger changes were seen in the ancillary repertories of tropes and sequences, and new compositional approaches to these genres led to new experiments in page layout.

Tropes are interpolations to an existing chant. It was the practice in many monasteries, and occasionally in secular churches, for the chant sung by the choir at Masses on major feasts to be expanded upon by a solo singer who effectively provided a commentary on the main chant. While the chant was a Bible verse sung to an ancient melody, the words and music of the trope elements interrupting it were in a new style, often composed locally and thereby adding solemnity to the chant in a way that was unique to that institution. The practice of troping flourished throughout Europe in the tenth and eleventh centuries. By the twelfth the tradition had begun to die out in some quarters, with other practices such as new processional liturgies providing the means to add solemnity to feast days. But in others the practice of troping continued, with new words and melodies composed in new styles. In many places the new tropes related closely to theological developments, inserting texts into Mass chants such as the *Gloria* and *Sanctus* which reinforced the debates presented in sermons of the time, often with florid new melodies.¹⁸

The *sequence* originated at the same time as the earliest tropes, initially as a means of attaching words to the florid textless melodies known as *sequentiae* which followed on from the singing of the alleluia in the Mass. The form and style of the sequence changed radically in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries: where originally the verses had used a free metre in order to fit to pre-existing melodies, new styles came to adopt regular rhythmic metres, and words and music were composed hand in hand, often following strophic patterns. The sequence became the preeminent genre of liturgical poetry, and new repertoires of sequences quickly developed across Europe.¹⁹

Since both tropes and sequences were local repertoires of new compositions, there was a greater imperative for them to be supplied with musical notation than in the case of older repertoires of plainchant, which were already well known to all singers. Tropes and sequences often circulated together in a *troper*, a small book which effectively collected together all of the new music to be sung alongside the established chants contained in the gradual or cantatorium. The earliest troopers often took the elongated format which had been used for the cantatorium, a shape sometimes designed to accommodate ivory covers. By the twelfth century this format came to be superseded by more conventional proportions.²⁰ The earliest troopers, from the tenth century, are among the first books to be provided with musical notation throughout: earlier graduals generally supply the words of chants without any notation. By the end of the eleventh century, all graduals were fully notated too. In both cases the notation in this early period consisted of neumes which displayed the shape and direction of the melody without specifying the pitch.

By the end of the eleventh century the need had grown to find a way for notation to display pitch accurately. In the region of Aquitaine, simple notes were plotted graphically on the dry-point lines ruled for text, but this scheme had the double disadvantage of lacking the nuances which neumes conveyed and taking up a great deal of space. From the start of the twelfth century experiments were made in using one or two ruled horizontal lines to enable the relative pitch to be shown more precisely, and by the end of the century it had become standard through much of Europe to rule four or sometimes five lines in red ink, with each pitch allotted to a line or the space between them. In other words, the system which underpins Western music notation to this day was formed in the twelfth century.

The earliest inscriptions of neumes on a four-line stave tended to retain the basic shape of the earlier staffless neumes, stretching them where necessary to cover the intended range of pitches. In parallel with the

development of Pregothish script into the more angular forms of Gothic Textualis in the thirteenth century, the shapes of note forms became more angular and stylised through the course of the twelfth century, eventually assuming the forms of square notation which became standard in later periods. However, it was not until the thirteenth century that a separate, wider pen nib came to be used as a norm for square notation, which emphasised the contrast between wide horizontal strokes and hairline verticals.

The adoption of the four-line stave was a gradual process, and took effect at different rates in different places. Recent surveys are enabling the construction of a more systematic account than has been possible hitherto.²¹ In some regions, especially in France, it was common for four lines to be ruled with a dry point, the lines for the notes F and C subsequently ruled in red and yellow. Elsewhere lines were ruled free-hand in red ink, without a dry-point ruling to guide the pen. Sometimes a four- or five-line stave was employed systematically throughout a volume, but on other occasions the number of lines varied depending on the range of notes to be accommodated. Except when lines were coloured to show pitch, a clef was required at the start of the line to show which line corresponded to which pitch. In the earlier period the position and choice of letter used for the clef varied considerably, but by the thirteenth century it became most common for the clef to show the note C or F.²²

Staves were generally ruled at a later stage than the pricking and ruling of the parchment, and there are perhaps as many cases of the staves being ruled after the text had been written as vice versa. It is inevitably very rare for the notation to have been written before the stave-lines were drawn (except in cases of red and yellow lines being applied to existing dry-point lines), but it is common for the words to be added after the notation, so that syllables can be placed precisely under the relevant notes. It seems not to have been until the fourteenth century that the rastrum or four-nibbed pen came into use for ruling several parallel lines simultaneously, and individual line-ruling remained the norm for some time thereafter.

Figures 10.1 and 10.2 show two early examples of notation on a stave. In the pontifical in Figure 10.2, probably from the second quarter of the twelfth century, the shape of the notes is very close to that found before the advent of the stave. A 'natural' sign is used as a clef to show that the middle space is a B. In Figure 10.1, from the middle of the century, the notes are a little squarer, and therefore slightly less close to the shape of the neumes from which they derive. Here the stave has three or four lines depending on the number of notes required, and D, A, C and F are all used as clefs.

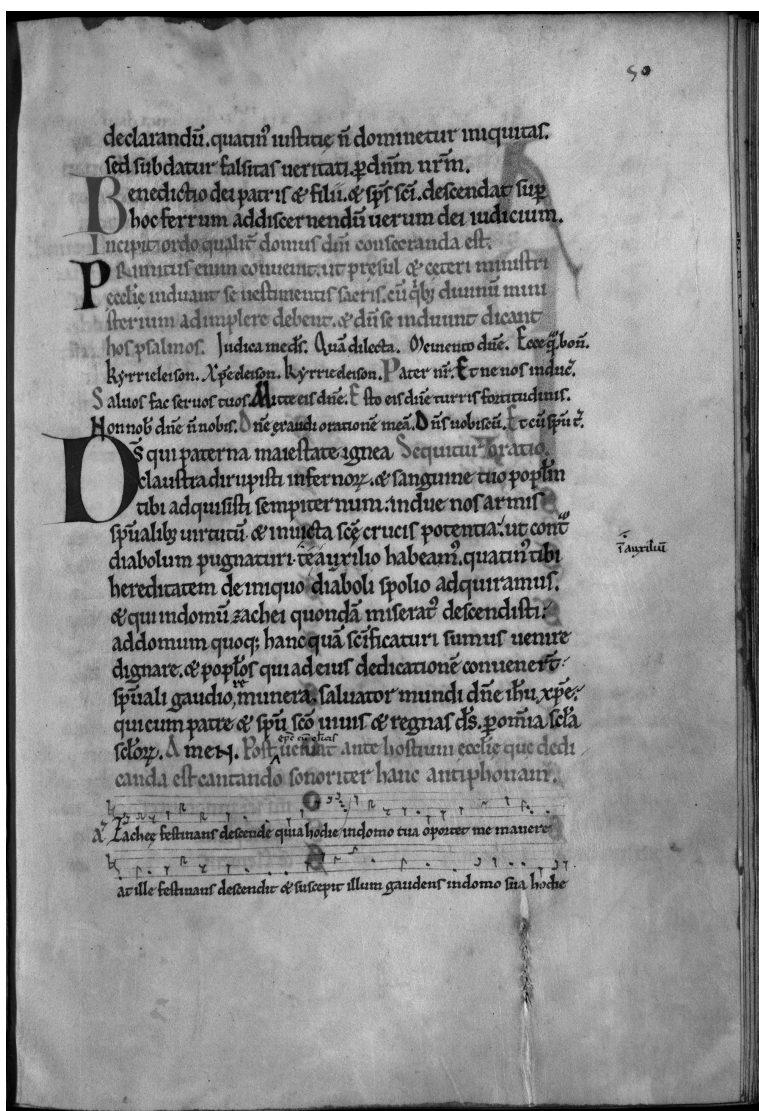


Figure 10.2 Pontifical, perhaps from Ely, ca. 1125–50. Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 11. 10, f. 50r.

Both of these figures demonstrate the problems which affected any scribe in planning the layout of a page with a musical stave. Where previously neumatic notation could be added selectively between normally spaced lines of text, in the manner of an interlinear gloss, ruling a stave required at least as much space as a text line. The result was that writing music on staves could use twice as much space as writing music without them, and the scribe needed to know exactly where the music would occur before planning the shape of the page. Once the stave had settled into regular use, in the second half of the twelfth century, standard formats came into being. In a gradual, where most of the texts are supplied with music, the default pattern was to rule the whole page with stave-lines, leaving gaps only at those points where rubrics or other texts without chants were to be written. In the missal, notation was generally restricted to very small portions of the canon of the Mass, which meant that stave-lines could only be added at a late stage, once the precise length of other texts had been calculated. In a hymnal, where only the first verse of a hymn needed to be notated, the subsequent verses following the same melody, the stave would be ruled for the length of a single stanza, leaving space for the remaining verses of text to be written afterwards. Sequences were generally composed in paired strophes with each line of music repeated, and this was often displayed on the page by writing the melody once only, with the two strophes of text spaced below it to align with the notes. All of these various formats were planned in the interests of economy, but also of elegance. Although minor errors of judgement and planning are easy to find, it is surprisingly rare for a book to have empty stave-lines ruled in vain, or for notation to be forced onto extra lines ruled outside the main textblock.

Concern to save space may also have been a primary motivation for adopting a two-column layout in many liturgical books. It is very difficult to make any generalised comments about presentation in two columns in twelfth-century liturgical books, beyond the general observation that most liturgical books of the eleventh century are in single-column layout, and most of the thirteenth century in double columns.²³ A two-column *mise-en-page* can save space and can aid legibility, but neither of these is universally the case. The size of the page and the size of the text are inevitably the major determining factors, as well as the size of the text relative to the page. The presence of music on a stave complicates these decisions, since some types of chant benefit more than others from being laid out in regular lines across the page, rather than split into narrow columns. The decision of whether or not to adopt a columnar layout was ultimately one of a number of interrelated questions which the compiler of the manuscript had to pose at an early stage of planning.

Conclusions

This brief overview of developments in the design and content of liturgical books has not sought to cover the many other ways in which liturgy was understood in the twelfth century. The tradition of liturgical commentary reached new layers of sophistication during this period, in keeping with new scholastic methods. The ninth-century treatise of Amalarius of Metz remained the fundamental study of liturgy, but his work received new layers of exegesis, most notably in the *Gemma animae* of Honorius of Autun (d. 1154) and the *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis* of Jean Beleth, which was composed in the 1160s and became widely read in the thirteenth century. Sermons are intrinsic to church services, but have generally been treated separately from liturgy in later scholarship, to the detriment of both.²⁴ Liturgy is also closely reflected in literary and other texts throughout this period.²⁵ Recent work has started to reintegrate liturgical studies into the wider context of medieval life and thought, and liturgical books have a central place in this discussion.

Notes

1. McKitterick 1993, for the context of the Carolingian reforms.
2. Harper 1991.
3. For these categories of book, see Palazzo 1998.
4. Jungmann 1951, I. 212–33; Vogel 1986, 105–6.
5. The term *missale* had on occasion been used in earlier centuries to denote what is here termed the *sacramentary*, hence the need in modern times to distinguish the composite book as *missale plenum*: Palazzo 1998, 27–34.
6. Leroquais 1934; Salmon 1967; Tolhurst 1932–42, esp. vol. 6.
7. Van Dijk and Walker 1960, 528–42.
8. In general, see Harper 1991, 45–57; Grotefend 1891–8 on liturgical calendars.
9. Salmon 1967, 44–85.
10. Jacobsson and Haug 2001; Jonsson 1968.
11. Huglo 1988, 64–75, on *libelli*.
12. Leroquais 1940–1; Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, 103–5, on the layout of Psalm verses.
13. Marosszéki 1952; Waddell 2007.
14. King 1955; Heinzer 2008, 85–405, on Hirsau.
15. Chadd 1986. See also the ‘Excursus: On Ascription of Liturgical Books to Specific Churches’ in Pfaff 2009, 192–9.
16. Huglo 1999–2004.
17. For catalogues of pontificals and benedictionals, see Kay 2007; Rasmussen 1998.
18. Iversen 2010.

19. Fassler 1993.
20. Huglo 2001. A catalogue of troopers is provided in Husmann 1964.
21. Recent projects to survey manuscripts with musical notation include Hartzell 2006; Colette et al., covering manuscripts up to 1200 with French neumes in the BnF; Meyer et al. 2006 (eight volumes to date); and Klugseder et al. 2014.
22. Haines 2008 and several of the contributions to Haines 2011.
23. For the use of double-column formats more generally, see Chapter 1 of the present volume. The relative sizes of selected antiphoners are tabulated in Huglo 1988, 95; for graduals, see Huglo 1957.
24. Reconciliation of this division is evident in Morand 2008, and other contributions to the same volume.
25. See especially Zieman 2008.

CHAPTER II

Books of Theology and Bible Study

Lesley Smith

Even in a volume dedicated to the creativity of the books of the long twelfth century, those made for the study of the Bible and the burgeoning discipline of theology are notably rich in innovation. In part, this is a response to the centrality of the Bible in so much of medieval life; but it is also the corollary of a change in setting for Bible study in this period, which went from being the preserve of monasteries to a subject taught in clerical schools, mostly attached to cathedrals. Paris in particular boasted a variety of establishments: the important school at the cathedral of Notre Dame was joined by those at the abbeys of St-Victor and Ste-Geneviève, and a number of others run by individual masters. By the end of the century, these had consolidated to become a proto-university, and constituted the most important centre for biblical research in Europe. Moreover, the schools underpinned the establishment of a secular commercial book trade in the city. In a symbiotic relationship, the core business from masters and students allowed the book trade to flourish in other – perhaps more frivolous – subject-areas. The trade was also predicated on, and reflected, a shift from predominantly oral teaching to types of instruction that expected students to have access to books. We see this movement mirrored in the form of some of the books discussed in this chapter.¹

Because of its central place both in the study of the Bible and theology and in the commercial book trade, almost all the types of book I discuss here were products of Paris. Even when not literally made in the city, their spiritual home was Paris; copying texts originating or circulating in the schools, they mimic (or try to) Parisian innovations in design. Paris books found their way into the hands of scholars and libraries across Europe. Other schools in the twelfth century continued to offer biblical and theological courses, but as yet we know comparatively little about the particular books and materials they produced. And not all monastic writers were eclipsed by the movement to the schools. Bernard of Clairvaux, and in particular his *Sermons on the Song*

of Songs, was a twelfth-century bestseller known by schoolmen as well as monks. However, since the form in which these texts were produced was relatively conservative, I have chosen not to deal with them here. Instead, I want to focus on innovation.

We begin by looking at the most authoritative medieval book: the Bible. Study of the Bible was responsible for probably the most creative phase of twelfth-century book production, both in the texts produced to facilitate such study and in their layout and design. A typical twelfth-century monastic volume – whether a patristic text or part of the Bible, such as the gospels or the Pauline Epistles – was a plain book, with about a half-folio page size. While there are spacious margins, the text, written with little abbreviation, takes up the whole written space, often in a single column. The page has little differentiation to aid the reader: generally, for instance, there are no running headers with the names of the biblical books; chapter division was still not standardised, though some bibles have numbered *capitula* lists at the beginning of each book, linked to numbers in the margins by the text; decoration to mark out sections is often minimal. A book is to be read from beginning to end, or else finding one's way requires prior knowledge of the text. The usual form of a biblical commentary in this period was lemmatised: a short section of biblical text (= *lemma*; plural *lemmata*) is followed by the commentary. The lemma itself is marked out either by underlining (sometimes in red; occasionally the whole lemma is written in red) or by quotation marks in the margin. In this form of commentary, the whole biblical text is not present, only the parts that have been chosen for exposition, and the level or register of the individual comments is not distinguished, so that short etymological notes, for example, sit alongside more complex spiritual interpretation. One point simply follows after another.

However, from the beginning of the twelfth century, another form of biblical commentary began to appear – the Glossed Bible (*Glossa*, later *Glossa ordinaria*) – and by the second half of the century, it was the text of choice for any scholar.² Students and libraries no longer wanted plain Bible texts; they looked instead for the Gloss. The Gloss story seems to have begun at the cathedral school at Laon, run by the renowned master Anselm, aided by his brother Ralph and Gilbert 'the Universal' of Auxerre. Anselm was known as a teacher of the liberal arts, but some time around 1100 he seems also to have offered lectures on the Psalms and the Pauline Epistles, taking the teaching of the Bible from the monastery to the 'secular' (that is, not monastic, though still clerical) school. Nevertheless, in starting with these two books, Anselm was following the

monastic pattern: the Psalms were the backbone of the daily liturgy, and the Epistles set out Paul's formulation of Jesus' teaching, constituting the framework of Christian theology. In addition to these two texts, it seems likely that the team at Laon also prepared a representative selection of Old and New Testament books.

The most immediately apparent novelty of the gloss was the layout of its pages (Figure 11.1), a format probably borrowed from glossed liberal arts texts, which Anselm also taught. Each page was divided into three columns of largely unvarying widths, with the inner column narrower than the other two. The central column presented the whole text of the biblical book, with the outer and inner columns reserved for commentary. Only the central column was fully ruled. The other columns were ruled only as and when needed for the comments or 'glosses' on the text; and they were ruled more densely than the central column, usually with two or three lines of gloss for every line of biblical text. The scriptural text was written in a script two or three times larger than the glossing hand, on alternate lines, with room for short glosses in between the lines. The start of each gloss was generally marked by a paraph sign, but not with a biblical lemma, so that often only positioning gives a clue as to which gloss refers to which part of the scriptural text. Few glossed books were highly decorated, although they may have coloured initials to begin chapters or sections of Bible text.

The glosses themselves were drawn from the Church Fathers and from 'modern' masters such as Bede, Rabanus Maurus and Isidore. Each biblical book uses a different selection of authorities. At one extreme, Job relies entirely on Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Iob* as the basis of its glosses. Genesis, on the other hand, employs a range of resources from Augustine, Jerome, Bede, Isidore, Rabanus and others. Some glosses are paraphrases, some verbatim extracts. All are somewhat contracted and rely on the reader's existing knowledge to make sense of what is on the page. At this stage of its history, the gloss seems to have been a tool for the lecturer to use in the classroom. Sitting with a glossed book on a reading stand or on his knees, he could read the biblical text aloud, using the individual glosses as the foundation of his sequential commentary. It would not be enough for him simply to read out the glosses, which often need to be put in context and/or amplified in order for them to be useful to students. The gloss in its beginnings was an *aide-mémoire* for an expert user.

Like almost all cathedral schools, the school at Laon was reliant on the drawing power of its masters to attract pupils; indeed, it was rare for the

fame of a school to outlast one particularly respected teacher.³ After the death of Anselm, Laon declined in importance, and it would not have been surprising if the glossed book format had also fallen away. However, by some agency not yet understood, around 1140 the idea of a Glossed Bible was taken up by scholars at Paris (perhaps specifically by Peter Lombard, master of the cathedral school at Notre Dame); the remainder of the biblical books (minus a few stragglers) were glossed and the existing glosses were revised and expanded. By the middle of the century, a set of glossed books typically ran to twenty or twenty-one volumes, with some books, such as the Wisdom literature, commonly copied as a group, or gospels bound together in pairs.⁴ As the twelfth century progressed, scholars began to comment not simply on the Bible, but on the *Glossed Bible*, with '*Glossa*' quoted as an authority alongside Scripture and the Fathers.⁵

Around the same time as this development in the status of the gloss came changes in the layout of the page. The density of glossing for any one biblical book could vary enormously, depending on the interest and importance of particular parts of the text, and it is generally true that the beginning of a book attracted much more comment than the end. In these terms, the 'simple'-format gloss, described earlier, with its invariable column widths, was inefficient and wasteful of space: in some parts, glosses had to be crammed into the margins above and beyond the outer columns; in others, large areas of the page remained untouched. Scribes began to vary the width and height of the central (scriptural) column from page to page, depending on how much gloss they needed to accommodate, and they ran the glosses into more than one parallel column when the volume of commentary demanded it. These experiments gradually reduced the amount of unused space on each page until, from around 1170, the layout reached its apogee, and the whole available written area was fully utilised (Figure 11.2).

It is hard to overpraise the achievement of page design that these complex-format glossed books represent. No two pages are alike. The layout of a particular gloss was not worked out and then slavishly repeated from copy to copy: the variation in the size of script between any two scribes means that each glossed manuscript worked out the layout anew. It is no wonder that Abbot Simon of St Albans is written of as employing a special scribe (*scriptor specialis*) to do this work: the spatial awareness and control it requires are breathtaking. Unlike the simple-format copies, the whole page was ruled, at the height of the glossing script, but once that had been done, the scribe could use any

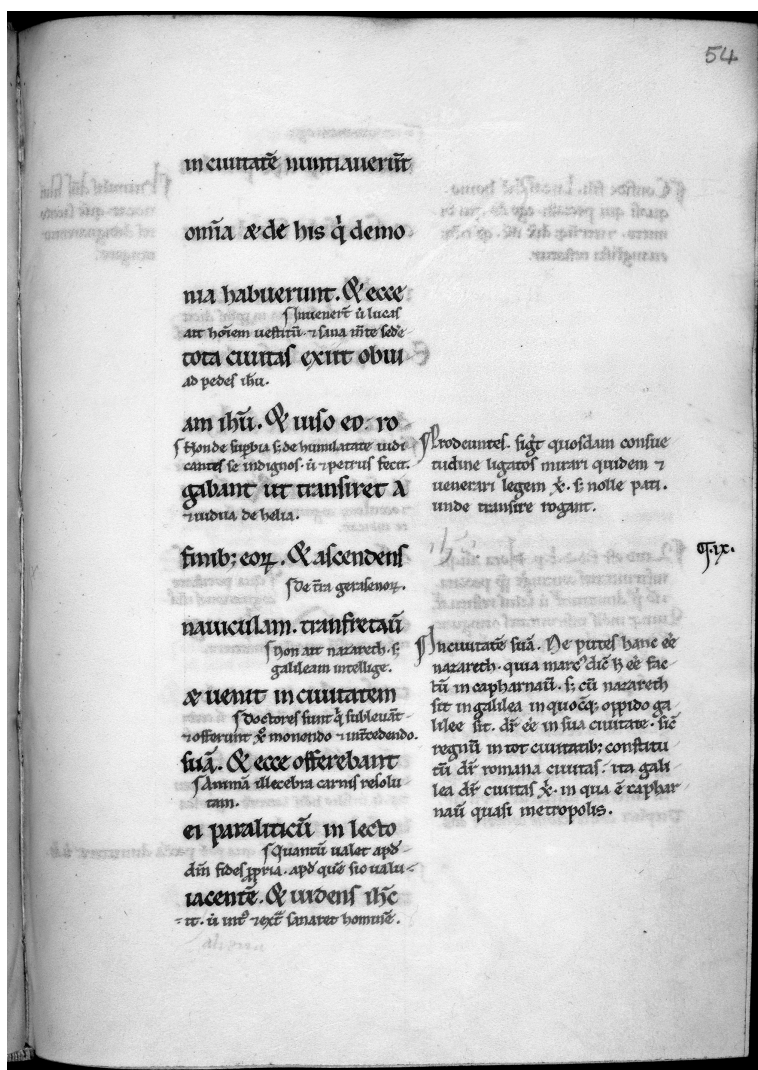


Figure II.1 (cont.)

In addition to this revision of the layout, the gloss text was also revised about 1170, and in particular the prefatory material to each book was added to and reordered; but we do not yet know enough about the various redactions of the gloss to be clear how this was done, and whether there was an overarching agenda for all the biblical books.⁶ What seems clear is

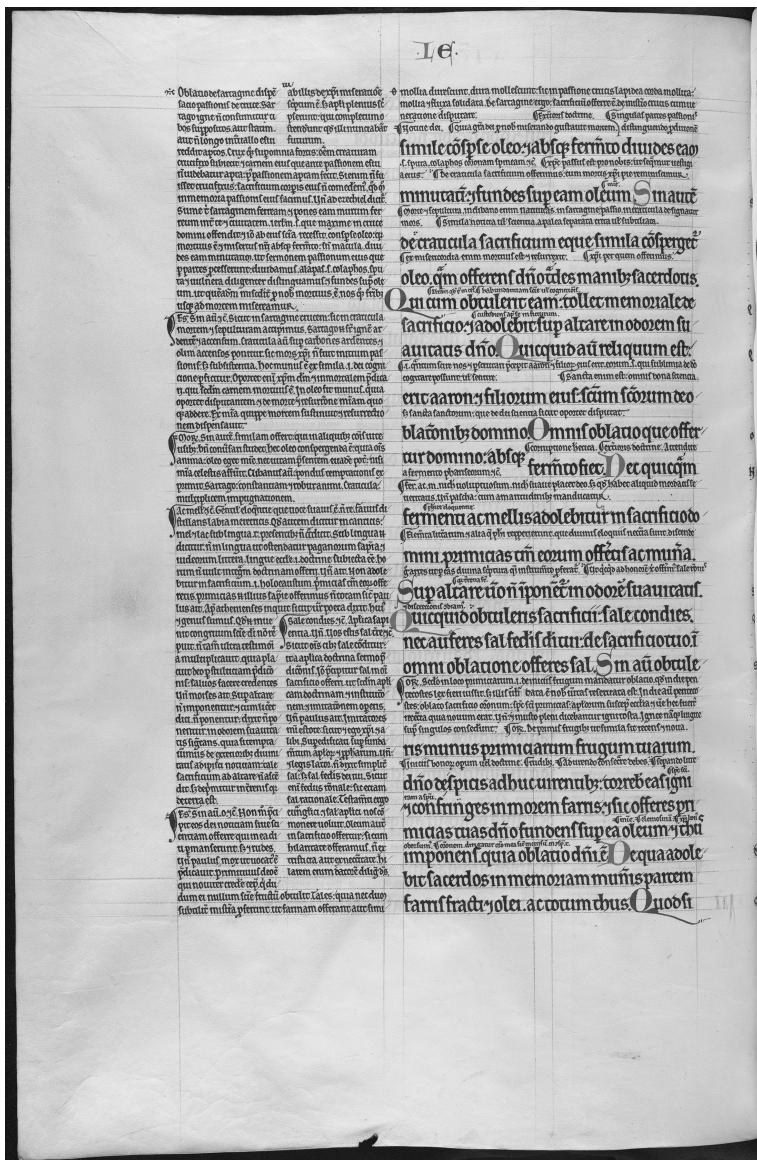


Figure 11.2 Layout of the *Glossa ordinaria*. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. E. inf. 7, ff. 118v-119r.

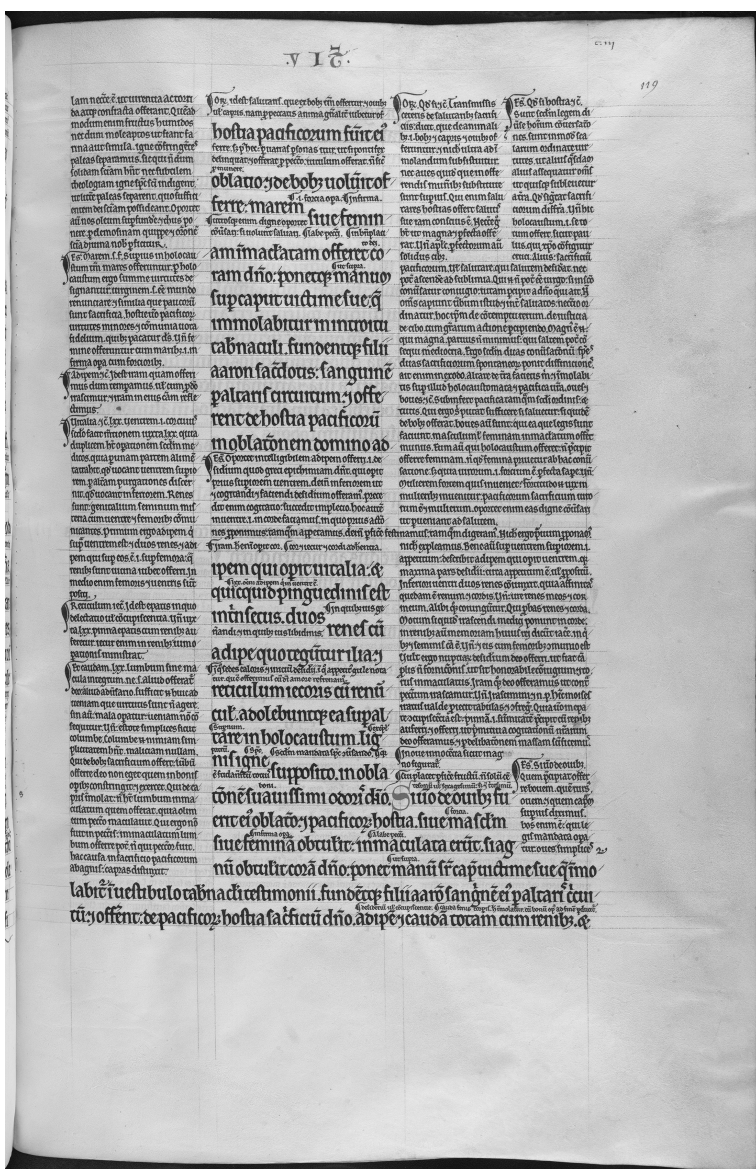


Figure 11.2 (cont.)

that the closely woven pages of the complex-format gloss could not have been used for teaching in the same way as the simple-format copies. It was simply too difficult to find one's way through so much densely packed material for it to be viable for the immediacy of the classroom. Instead, the complex layout must represent a stage where the gloss was used for consultation and reference, probably by students as much as by their teachers. It reflects the almost entirely oral teaching of the early twelfth century giving way to a more text-based model.

The Glossed Bible became the central text of twelfth-century Bible study. Part of the reason we know this is the sheer number of copies which survive – thousands of extant manuscripts, even now, and many more lost copies visible in medieval library catalogues. The text that started as a classroom tool in Laon spread across Europe, and although the majority of copies date from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, some were still being made in the fifteenth, even after the first printed edition produced by Adolph Rusch of Strassburg in 1480/1. Moreover, although each page of each copy is individual, the text they preserve is largely identical, allowing for the differences in the one or two revisions of each biblical book. This is an extraordinary feat of the mass production of texts – an ability which is an important part of the twelfth-century book story.

Alongside the gloss, the first half of the century saw the production of two further commentaries on the Psalms and the Pauline Epistles which experimented with layout and design, and both enjoyed a measure of success – although one much more than the other. The first was the work of Gilbert de la Porrée (Gilbert of Poitiers).⁷ Gilbert was one of Anselm's pupils, who taught at Chartres and Paris before becoming bishop of Poitiers in 1142. We are still unsure when and where Gilbert wrote his commentary, and of its relation to the Laon Psalms and Epistles glosses. However, what does seem to be clear is Gilbert's own involvement in devising the layout of his text, since this same format (*'cum textu'*) is found in his other, non-biblical commentaries such as his commentary on Boethius' *Opuscula sacra*. Each page is divided into two unequal columns, with the commentary in the broader outer column and the biblical text in the narrower inner. The biblical lemmata in the commentary are distinguished, generally by underlining. Unlike the gloss layout, in Gilbert's design the commentary text is written first and the biblical text added afterwards. This is because, more often than not, the amount of commentary outweighs the scriptural text, so the scriptural column has to pause so that the commentary can catch up. The scribe achieves this by adding

decorative line fillers to the scriptural column and spacing out the writing. Less often, it is the commentary that gets a little ahead, and the biblical text has to be crunched together to fit the page. Judged by layout alone, Gilbert's commentary would be usable by a teacher in the classroom, in the same way as the simple Gloss texts; but since the author of a study of his Psalms commentary notes that his method can appear to be chaotic, this might not have been an option for anyone other than Gilbert himself, and it is more likely that the commentaries were used for reference. Certainly Gilbert's were much less successful than the second set of Psalms and Epistles commentaries with their own experimental layout – those of Peter Lombard.

Peter was head of the cathedral school at Notre Dame in Paris – a very influential teacher who was made bishop of the city at the end of his life.⁸ Peter certainly taught using Glossed books, though his own Psalms and Pauline Epistles commentaries employ another layout, now known as *intercism* or intercut. In this, a block of biblical text, taking up about half the width of the column of script, is surrounded and followed by the text of Peter's commentary. The biblical script is twice the size of the commentary hand, and written on alternate lines; in some more expensive copies, it is underlined, or even written entirely, in red. As with the Gloss and Gilbert, the whole scriptural text is present, although divided into small portions. The *intercism* layout is easier to produce than Gilbert's, as each section of commentary simply follows its portion of Scripture, so there is no need to judge how much space should be left, and no stretching or contracting of the writing.⁹ It was also directly usable in the classroom by a teacher. This layout was so associated with Peter Lombard that it appears in incunable copies of his works, such as the edition of his Psalms commentary printed in Nuremberg in 1475 by Johannes Sensenschmidt and Andreas Frisner.

The format remains workable even when a copy was very smart and very academically complicated, such as the manuscript of Peter's Psalms commentary made for Thomas Becket (Figure 11.3).¹⁰ Here, the commentary runs alongside two of Jerome's translations of the Psalms, the Gallican and the Hebrew. The two translations are written in slightly different sizes of script to reflect their relative importance (the Gallican the bigger, in the middle of the columns; the Hebrew the smaller, to the left), but with the whole retaining the *intercism* layout. The three sets of commentaries on the Psalms and Pauline Epistles – the Gloss, Gilbert and Peter Lombard – came to be known as the *parva*, *media* and *magna glosaturae*, and their three separate formats meant that a twelfth-century scholar could open a book

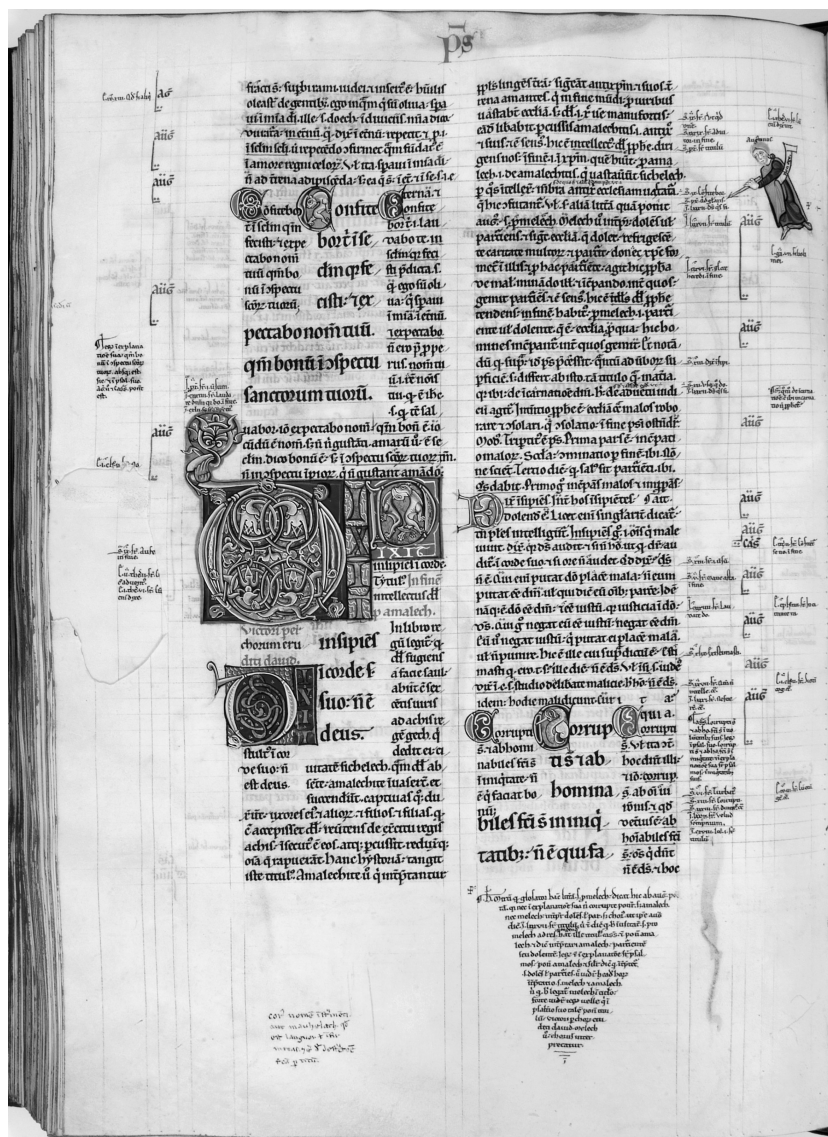


Figure 11.3 Peter Lombard's Psalms commentary made for Thomas Becket.
Cambridge, Trinity College, B. 5. 4, f. 135v.

and know immediately, simply from the look of the page, which of the three he was dealing with.¹¹

For students of the Bible, one further work was even more useful than these commentaries, especially for beginners. The *Historia scholastica* of Peter Comestor was a kind of abbreviated Bible paraphrase.¹² Much easier to read than the Bible itself (and shorter), it was extremely popular. Peter's text also demonstrates experiments in layout, incorporating offset text boxes, split columns, explanatory diagrams and lists of *distinctiones*, often by way of marginal tree diagrams, to illustrate different readings of a particular word according to the four 'senses' or methods of scriptural interpretation. These techniques are also visible in manuscripts of Peter's own biblical exegesis. Moreover, these manuscripts take us directly to the classroom, since they may survive only as *reportationes* – approved and corrected transcriptions of Peter's oral teaching. The immediacy of this world is preserved when the student reporter notes Peter's own words, beginning: 'The master himself says . . . ' (*Dicit etiam magister . . .*).

The Bible, then, was the bedrock of teaching about God and the Christian faith; but it was not the only way that the elements of belief were discussed. Anselm of Laon lectured from a glossed Bible, but he also taught by considering individual issues – concepts and problems arising from the biblical text, which took on an identity independent of Scripture: a *theological* identity. Consideration of questions such as the nature of God's creation, or of Christ's Incarnation, was not new. This sort of systematisation of Christianity was what the Apostle Paul was striving to achieve, and it had been continued by patristic writers, but the twelfth-century schools developed the organised teaching of these sorts of issues. Anselm proceeded by means of the 'sentence' (*sententia*) – a short statement of a single theological problem, supported by varying opinions on the topic drawn from patristic authorities. Whereas Bible teaching was done by lecture, theological questions seem to have been discussed in something of a seminar setting, using sentences as a starting point. Many collections of *sententiae* still exist, some with only a few scattered questions, others much bigger and better organised; some sentences are common across a number of collections, others exist in only one. Modern scholars have described these groupings disparagingly as haphazard and jumbled, but what is more interesting is the picture they conjure up of teachers and students picking and choosing among a larger pool of materials and sources to suit their own purposes. The best-known collection of sentences is associated with Anselm and the Laon school, the *Liber pancrisis* – 'All Gold'.¹³

The sentences method was taken up by Peter Lombard, who taught with it at Notre Dame. He reordered and organised the issues for consideration, producing his own *Four Books of Sentences*.¹⁴ Book 1 covered the Trinity; Book 2 the Creation and Sin; Book 3 the Incarnation and Virtues; Book 4 the Sacraments and the Eschaton. Peter's compilation was wildly popular: just as Peter Comestor was known as the Master of the *Histories*, Peter Lombard became the Master of the *Sentences*. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, Alexander of Hales made expounding the *Sentences* a compulsory part of the theology degree, and from then on no one wishing to become a Master in Theology could graduate without producing his own commentary on the text, with the result that hundreds of copies of the *Sentences*, and *Sentences* commentaries, are still extant.¹⁵ *Sentences* are the archetypal twelfth-century method of theological teaching, which were transformed into the theological *summae* of the thirteenth century.

Alongside the speculative theology of the sentences were volumes whose focus was the more practical questions of Christian life. This literature of pastoral care only really came into its own after the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215, but it has roots in the twelfth century, building on Hugh of St-Victor's pioneering work, *On the Sacraments of the Christian Faith* (*De sacramentis christianae fidei*).¹⁶ The twelfth-century scholar most famous for working in this vein was Peter the Chanter who, like the Lombard, was head of the Notre Dame school.¹⁷ His *Summa of the Sacraments and Counsel for the Soul* (*Summa de sacramentis et animae consiliis*) deals with hundreds of questions of practical and pastoral morality, from the effects of baptism, to the extent of allowable taxation, to the binding power of oaths.

The layout of the text in these books is more conventional than that of the materials for Bible study – broadly speaking, a heading followed by a paragraph of continuous text. Nevertheless, although their text space may be less inventive, the books incorporated other sorts of innovation, which we can gather together under the heading of reader aids. In the simple format versions of the glossed Bible (Figure 11.1), aside from the three-column layout of the text, the books themselves are very plain. Chapter and verse divisions were not settled until the end of the twelfth century, so at best the books begin with numbered lists of headings (*capitula*) which link to numbers in the margins of the page. There are generally no running headers or book titles, and often little or no colour to mark textual divisions. Since the glosses rarely begin with biblical lemmata, it can be difficult to be sure which glosses belong with which part of the scriptural text – and even, at times, which interlinear gloss should be attached to which word in the line; each gloss simply begins with a paraph mark. These early

glosses are plain, brown books, which are not easy to navigate. The reader must already know a lot about the text and its interpretation to get the most out of using them. They are books for *cognoscenti*.

Individual readers appear to have noted the inadequacies of the layout, adding their own lines or *signes de renvoi* to tie gloss to text, for instance, or putting in chapter divisions and running headers. As the twelfth century progressed, some but not all of these gaps were filled: the reader needed to know less in order to be able to find his way around, but it is interesting that some very simple improvements to the gloss layout, such as a means to tie gloss and text, were never really instituted. When the simple gloss layout evolved into the more complex versions, on pages with multiple columns of writing, scribes added tiny symbols to link text that spread over more than one column, so that the user knew where to carry on reading. Yet the basic question of which gloss belonged where remained unaddressed, and indeed became more difficult, since it became harder to maintain the proximity of text and accompanying gloss than it had been in the simple-format copies.

Nonetheless, some masters were continuing to think about the presentation of their work on the page, and the creation of an apparatus to aid scholarship. Once again we encounter the central figure of Peter Lombard. Along with the *intercium* format, the most careful manuscripts of Lombard's commentaries preserve a wide range of readers' aids. They have book titles and chapter or *capitula* numbers as running headers and chapter or *capitula* numbers in the margin and can use colour and a hierarchy of size of initials to guide the reader. Most intriguingly, Lombard's manuscripts have a form of footnote – references to the authorities Peter is quoting. Indeed, the placement of the references tells the user which part of the *magna glosatura* he is reading: in the Psalms commentary the references are generally in the top margin; in the Epistles commentary they are in the side margins. Figure 11.3 illustrates the most elaborate version of the system, with vertical red lines to indicate the presence and extent of quotation from the individual authorities, who are named (here in red) in abbreviated form – AG for Augustine, Amb for Ambrose, and so on.¹⁸ Above each name is a pattern of dots and dashes (for instance, two vertical dots for Augustine, two horizontal dots for Ambrose) peculiar to each. The dot-dash pattern is used within the text of the commentary to mark the beginning of the quotation from that authority; a single dot above the last word commonly marks the end. A reader who knows the key to the dot-dash symbols can read through the text knowing instantly who Peter is quoting, as well as precisely how much of the text is quotation and how much is Peter's own.

The planning involved in the reference system can be seen from the rubricator's guideletters at the outer edge of the page: the abbreviations and symbols have all been carefully copied from an exemplar.

It is a characteristic of medieval manuscripts that the scholarly worth of a book is not necessarily related to the expense with which it was made. As we have seen, Cambridge, Trinity Coll. B. 5. 4 (Figure 11.3) is a richly decorated version of Peter's Psalms commentary, and the whimsical variety of the imaginary creatures on its pages might lead us to imagine that it was the medieval equivalent of a coffee-table book. Nothing could be farther from the truth. Cambridge B. 5. 4 contains, in the *intercisum* format, two different versions of Jerome's translation of the Psalms as well as Peter's *magna glosatura* commentary, all made accessible by a hierarchy of script and decoration which guides the reader through the three different texts on the page. In addition, it has two sets of added notes, biblical cross-references and Psalm numbers in running headers along the top of the page. The start of each Psalm is numbered in the margin. Peter's reference system appears in alternating blue and red ink, with the dot-dash symbols carefully copied within the text. Mixing pedantry with invention, the book even has messages from the mouths of the Church Fathers: in the top right-hand corner (of f. 135v, Figure 11.3), Augustine points to a quotation supposedly from his works, but says (through the 'speaking' scroll by his side) '*Non ego*' – 'not me!'¹⁹ Although it looks like a picture book, this highly ornate and costly volume is stuffed full of Lombard's particular reader aids; it would be impossible for a twelfth-century book to be more scholarly.

Not all copies of Lombard's text have the reference system, and not all have it quite so fully as we see here, but it is common enough for us to know that it was meant to travel with these texts; it represents a highly scholarly and useful addition to the commentary on its own. But we cannot claim it to be Peter's own invention. Manuscripts of commentaries by Bede and Rabanus Maurus sometimes note in the margins the (abbreviated) names of the authorities whose opinions are cited. A similar system is also evident in the commentary manuscripts of Gilbert de la Porrée, whose innovative page layout we have already considered. Gilbert's marginal references are not as elaborate as Peter Lombard's, but the idea is certainly the same, as is the scholarly intention behind it. And Gilbert has another trick up his sleeve. Following Cassiodorus, Gilbert indexed each Psalm according to its main theme (On the Natures of Christ; On Love; On Lamentation and so on) using a series of twelve symbols, and these can be found in many manuscripts of the Psalms commentary.²⁰ One early copy (Oxford, Balliol Coll. 36, datable before 1166), which is written out continuously with lemmata, not

in Gilbert's *cum textu* format, illustrates its usefulness. At Ps. 27, for instance, a symbol (a backwards S) to the left of the initial A tells us that this is a Psalm about the Passion and Resurrection; the Roman III, above the indexing symbol, marks the Psalm as the third of this type; and the Roman numeral xxx below the symbol points forward to the next Psalm with this theme. Sure enough, Ps. 30 is the next Psalm with the backward S index, and we can see from the surrounding roman numerals that it is the fourth Psalm of this type, and that the next is Ps. 56. This is a different sort of readers' aid than the references provided in the *cum textu* Gilbert manuscripts, but no less useful for that. Whereas the references would help fellow commentators make sense of the ingredients that went to make up the text, allowing them to reuse them in their own exegesis, the indexing symbols would perhaps be most helpful to preachers looking for themes for sermons and links between biblical texts. Both types of readers' aid take us a long way from the plain Bible text with which we began. This is the Bible used for more than just continuous reading; this is a text manipulated by scholars and preachers according to their needs.

Another series of readers' aids was much more visual in nature. For beginners in the biblical classroom, Peter of Poitiers' *Compendium historiae in genealogia Christi* provided a series of useful diagrams to help make sense of the text.²¹ These sometimes take the form of long parchment rolls – a kind of medieval wallchart or poster – presumably to be tacked up on the classroom wall; but they can also be found as a few folios in a manuscript with other contents, often preceding one of the other texts we have met so far. Some of what Peter provides are maps or plans, such as those for Jerusalem and its Temple; but the core of the work is a series of biblical genealogies, in the form of linked circles that explain who in the Bible is related to whom. This genealogical interest was more than just pedantry or a means of better following a complicated story. It was, for instance, an important biblical argument that Jesus was part of the family of King David, and the genealogies show proof of those links. Similar diagrams and genealogical chains can be found in manuscripts of Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica*, where they are within or alongside the text, rather than separately produced. The diagrams – of Noah's Ark, for example – in Comestor's *Historia* manuscripts are an instance of what we might call visual exegesis, that is, of pictures employed not as decoration but as illustration – sometimes even as part of the exposition of the text. It is a practice that seems to be linked to the important school run by Augustinian canons at the abbey of St-Victor in Paris; and certainly the most extensive extant twelfth-century example is found in Richard of

St-Victor's commentary on the Vision of the prophet Ezekiel. Richard is trying to explain how Ezekiel's notoriously complex description of the rebuilding of the Temple in Jerusalem, destroyed by the Babylonians, can be understood to describe an actual viable construction. His text includes a series of large diagrams, common across copies of the text, and generally accurately reproduced, in which he attempts to draft the proportionate sizes and shapes Ezekiel provides. He is at particular pains to explain how the building could be sited on the sloping side of the Temple Mount. The diagrams are an integral part of the exegesis, and Richard refers to them in the text. His point is a theological one: if Ezekiel's figures are simply impracticable, then the Bible becomes in some sense unreliable; but if Richard can demonstrate that the text is correct in its detail as well as in general meaning, then he has confirmed his belief in the literal truth of Scripture.²²

Both Richard and Peter Comestor were associated with St-Victor, whose most famous scholar was the influential Master Hugh. One of Hugh's treatises, *The Mystical Ark of Noah* (*De arca Noe mystica*), is the subject of much debate in the matter of visual reader aids. The text is a kind of ekphrasis, a verbal description of a picture.²³ It has at its centre a world map, overseen by Christ and two seraphs. Some scholars believe that the treatise must have been accompanied by a visual creation of the image described, either on parchment or on the walls of Hugh's classroom, so that he could refer to the drawing as he taught the text. For others, however, the text is intended to prompt students to create the image in their own minds, as a portable aid to meditation, and it was never an actual artefact. No copy of a suitable image has been found; but as we have seen, in the mid-twelfth-century context of Paris and St-Victor, the use of images in teaching was not uncommon.

Finally in this section, we should note some visual material that combines pure decoration with the exegetical purpose of Richard of St-Victor's Ezekiel drawings or the illustrative diagrams of Peter of Poitiers and others. Some Glossed books and commentaries begin with historiated initials that fulfil both functions. An Oxford manuscript of the Gloss on Romans (Bodl. Libr., Auct. D. 1. 13, f. 1r) is a particularly nice example.²⁴ The initial P[aulus] marks the beginning of the biblical text – the first of Paul's Letters – and within the page-high letter are a number of scenes from the Apostle's life: his preaching; his escape from Damascus by being let down from the walls in a basket; and his traditional (but not biblical) death by beheading in Rome. The historiation sums up the whole context of the Letters before the text begins, acting as a preview for new readers and an aid

to memory for others. It is also a wonderfully inventive and enjoyable picture.

Decoration and historiation certainly continued beyond the confines of the long twelfth century, but we cannot say the same for some of the other elements of the books we have examined in this chapter. Although glossed Bibles continued to be made in the thirteenth century in great numbers, they were presented in exactly the same way as their twelfth-century exemplars; there are no innovations in the later period. The reason for this might be that, although the gloss continued to be used, by the second quarter of the thirteenth century it was no longer at the cutting edge of biblical research. Thirteenth-century (and later) copies were either made outside Paris or were made there for use elsewhere. Instead, in the 1230s Hugh of St-Cher and the Paris Dominicans produced a new commentary on the whole Bible that updated the gloss and took commentary in a slightly different direction, including sentence-type material among the exposition.²⁵ Hugh's commentary did not use the gloss page design, but went back to a two-column lemmatised format. It was also known by a new name – *postilla(e)* – which served to distinguish Hugh's type of commentary from the Gloss layout. But despite the new name, the layout of Hugh's *postillae* was in some ways a return to the past. The creativity of the twelfth century seems to have fallen away, perhaps because the scribal effort involved in producing glossed books was too difficult and expensive: the Dominicans were a new order dedicated to poverty and without a history of book collecting to fall back on. Anything it produced had to be easily copied anywhere in the Order.

But although the textual layout of *postillae* was more conventional than that of the Gloss, the Dominicans did not entirely revert to previous forms. The Order had its own innovations. Figure 11.4 illustrates a typical manuscript of one of Hugh's *postillae*. The textual layout is a lemmatised commentary, written in very plain style, with the lemmata underlined in the ink of the text; but although the text layout is plain and, seemingly, old-fashioned, other readers' aids have been retained, with running headers, marginal subject headings and points in the argument numbered in the margin. There is an index of subjects – and the 'e' at the top of the page is part of the reference system it employs. Hugh and the Dominican team in Paris were also responsible for a biblical concordance and list of corrections to the scriptural text – two innovative projects that served the Dominicans' need to be able to find their way quickly around the text, to use it for preaching and teaching, rather than simply for their own private reading.

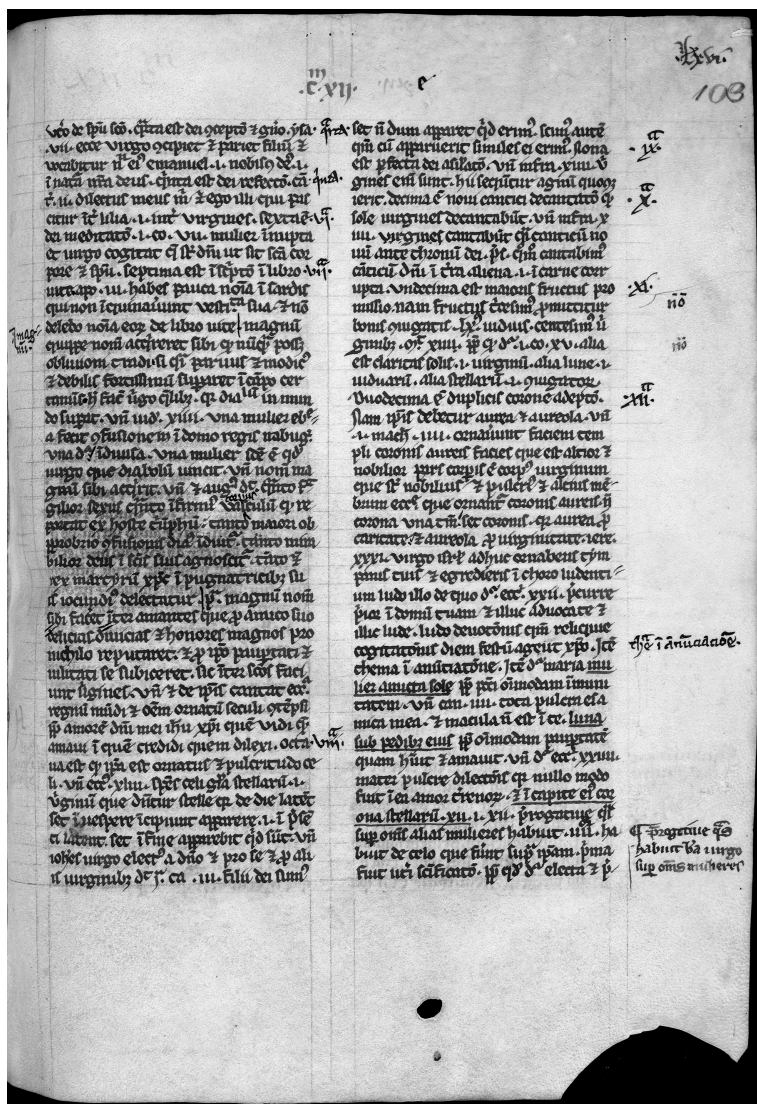


Figure 11.4 (cont.)

Late twelfth- and thirteenth-century scholars show an increasing interest in the *hebraica veritas* – the original language of the Bible. A group of English manuscripts preserves Hebrew Bible texts with Latin translations in a two-column page layout strongly reminiscent of Gilbert de la Porrée's

commentary format.²⁶ Similarly, the twelfth-century awareness of other faiths included concern about Islam. Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, commissioned Robert of Ketton to translate the Qur'an into Latin.²⁷ Copies of Robert's translation, such as the earliest, twelfth-century manuscript (BnF, Bibl. de l'Arsenal 1162), are laid out as a text with marginal and interlinear glosses. Moreover, in the same way that paraph marks were used to mark new glosses in the Glossed Bible, these texts employ a special paraph sign to mark the beginning of a new Qur'anic section or sura. The similarity of this to a glossed book of the Bible is striking.

What we see in these twelfth-century books is not a straightforward history of 'progress' and change: some of the innovation sticks and some does not. We should perhaps not be surprised that the complicated page design of the Glossed Bible proved too difficult – perhaps too expensive – to be generally employed for new commentary in the thirteenth century. Even the early printed copies of the gloss do not manage to reproduce the intricacies of the complex format. It may also be the case that the move from oral to written culture in the classroom meant that books were being used in different ways that required different layouts. Nevertheless, the experimentation and creativity of the makers of twelfth-century books of Bible study and theology remain a high point in the history of book design.

Notes

1. The classic study is Smalley 1983. For the development of the schools in general, see Southern 1995, 2001. Smith 2001 illustrates many of the texts discussed here.
2. Smith 2009. De Hamel, *Glossed Books*; Smalley 1935–6, 1937, 1984. *Biblia cum glossa ordinaria* represents a modern facsimile of the 1480/1 *editio princeps*.
3. For Anselm and his school, see Smith 2009, 17–33; Giraud 2010, ch. 1; Southern 2001, chs. 1–4; Flint 1976.
4. In the Introduction to the facsimile, *Biblia cum glossa ordinaria*, Gibson states that the gloss was often found as a nine-volume set, following Cassiodorus' description of one of his bibles at Vivarium; but in practice, the situation was much more varied. There was no single way of organising and gathering the books. The five books of Moses, for instance, can be found together, in groups or separately. Similarly, the gospels are often found in pairs, as are the four Major Prophets. The book of Ruth is sometimes regarded as part of Judges, and included in a volume with Joshua, but it can also be found with the historical books about individuals – Tobit, Judith and Esther (and sometimes Ezra). Few

- people seem to have owned a matching set of glossed books, but rather to have collected as they could, which might include some duplicates, with a single biblical book found in more than one volume: Smith 2009, 179–80.
5. See, for example, Peter Comestor and Peter the Chanter in Smith 2009, 209–15.
 6. Smith 2009, 73–6. The revision is noted by the few scholars who have edited parts of the Gloss, for example, Dove 1997, introduction; Andrée 2005; Zier 1993.
 7. Gross-Diaz 1996; Van Elswijk 1966; Smith 2009, 121–34 and 195–9.
 8. See the *Prolegomena* to the edition of Peter Lombard's *Sentences*, and Colish 1994. For the layout of the texts, see Smith 2009, 130–7 and 200–4.
 9. The commentary itself often begins with or includes short biblical lemmata, so that in some cases the words of Scripture appear twice – once in the *intercisum* block and again in the commentary column.
 10. Cambridge, Trinity Coll. B. 5. 4 has been digitised at <http://trin-sites-pub.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/viewpage.php?index=453>. Morgan and Panayotova 2015, no. 32.
 11. Smith 2008.
 12. Apart from the book of Genesis (ed. Sylwan), the *Historia* is still unedited. The text is printed in *PL* 198. 1053–1722.
 13. Giraud 2010 and Lottin 1959, vol. 5, discuss *sententiae* in general, as well as printed collections by Anselm and others. Collections of sentences are among the edited works of the theologians Robert of Melun, *Oeuvres*, vol. 3, and Peter of Poitiers, *Sententiae*.
 14. Peter Lombard, *Sententiae in IV Libris Distinctae*.
 15. Alexander of Hales, *Glossa in IV Libros Sententiarum Petri Lombardi*.
 16. Hugh of St-Victor, *De sacramentis christianae fidei*.
 17. Peter the Chanter; Baldwin 1970.
 18. For diagrams of the *intercisum* format and on the reference system, see Smith 2009, 130–7, and Smith 2001, no. 2.
 19. The figure would appear to be correct. It seems to be pointing to a comment on the *titulus* to Ps. 52 (*Dixit insipiens*), *Pro Melech*, which is not part of Augustine's exposition of the Psalm.
 20. For a full description (and drawings) of the symbols, see Gross-Diaz 1996, 51–65 and Appendix 1: Cross Index. Smith 2008, figs. 3a and 3b, show Oxford, Balliol Coll. 36, ff. 24v and 26r.
 21. Moore 1936, 108, notes a contemporary mention of Peter's invention of these 'wallcharts'. See also Worm 2012.
 22. Delano-Smith 2012, 2013.
 23. Rudolph 2004 has argued extensively in support of the Ark as an actual picture. The opposite view, that the picture was never meant to exist, is taken by Carruthers 2008. For the text, see Hugh of St-Victor, *De archa Noe*.
 24. For an image, see <http://bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/view/all/what/MS.%20Auct.%20D.%201.%2013?os=0&pgs=50>.

25. There is no modern edition of Hugh's *Postilla in totam bibliam*, although there are many incunable and early printed editions (often now digitised), such as that by Johann Amerbach for Anton Koberger in Nuremberg, 1498–1502.
26. Olszowy-Schlanger 2009; Smalley 1983, chs. 3 and 4.
27. Burman 2007, esp. ch. 3 and fig. 1.

Logic

John Marenbon and Caterina Tarlazzi

Among twelfth-century books, logical manuscripts constitute a coherent field of investigation.^{1,2} Logic was studied in the schools attached to cathedrals and, especially, in the many schools that grew up in Paris after about 1120.³ The course in logic was fairly narrowly set, based on a small number of logical texts and commentaries from the ancient world. Twelfth-century authors wrote their own commentaries on these texts and independent logical works; in both will be found some of the most important philosophical thinking of the century.

The first section of this chapter sets out the ancient and late antique texts used by logicians. There follow studies of the twelfth-century manuscripts containing this material (Section 2), of commentaries by twelfth-century logicians (Section 3), and of independent logical treatises from the period (Section 4).

1 The Logical Curriculum in the Twelfth Century

In his *Dialectica*, probably written in 1110–5, Peter Abelard listed the textbooks around which the study of logic focused in his time. They comprise, he says, just seven books (*codices*), the work of three authors. Aristotle himself wrote only two of them: the *Categories* and *On Interpretation*, Porphyry one – an introduction to the *Categories* (usually known as the *Isagoge*), while four by Boethius are generally in use: his *De divisione*, ‘Topics’ (*De topicis differentiis*), and his ‘categorical and hypothetical syllogisms’ (*De syllogismis categoricis*, *De syllogismis hypotheticis*).⁴ To judge from the number of surviving manuscripts and commentaries, the *Isagoge*, *Categories*, *On Interpretation*, and *De topicis differentiis* were somewhat more widely and carefully studied than the other three. Other logical works of Aristotle’s – known collectively as the *logica nova* – were also known in the period: the *Prior Analytics*, *Sophistical Refutations*, and, later in the century, the *Topics* and the *Posterior Analytics*.

But of the *logica nova* only the *Sophistical Refutations* gave rise to a lively twelfth-century commentary tradition.⁵

Two further Boethian texts – the *Introductio ad syllogismos categoricos*,⁶ and the pseudo-Boethian *De definitione* (in fact by Marius Victorinus), were copied to a lesser extent, and did not receive commentaries.⁷ Some copies also continued to be made of the works which mainly constituted the logical curriculum from ca. 800 to the late tenth century – textbooks of logic such as the pseudo-Augustinian *Categoriae decem* (a paraphrase of the *Categories*), Apuleius' *Periermenias* (an introduction to syllogistic), Cicero's *Topics* with Boethius' commentary and also Alcuin's *Dialectica* (based on the *Categoriae decem* and encyclopaedic accounts) – what can be called a 'Roman' curriculum, because the works are either popularisations of Greek logic written for Latin-speaking readers in the Roman Empire or, in the case of Alcuin's *Dialectica*, derived directly or indirectly from them.⁸

For studying the texts by Porphyry and Aristotle, Boethius' commentaries were of great importance. Early on he wrote a commentary on the *Isagoge* in dialogue form, using Marius Victorinus' translation, and then later a commentary using his own translation. A single commentary on the *Categories* survives, and for *On Interpretation* Boethius produced a double commentary – an introductory, literal *prima editio*, and a lengthy *secunda editio*, which preserves much material from Porphyry's lost long commentary on the same work.⁹

2 Logical Textbooks and Boethius' Commentaries

Ninety surviving twelfth-century logical manuscripts contain works from the curriculum described in the previous section. They are listed in the Appendix. In their content, these manuscripts are of four main kinds: [A – Appendix I, II, III] those which contain some or all of the seven central texts; [B – Appendix IV and V] those which contain Boethius' commentaries; [C – Appendix VI] those which contain texts of the *logica nova*; and [D – Appendix VII] a few logical manuscripts which reflect the archaic, pre-eleventh-century 'Roman' syllabus. There is some overlap between these groups, especially between [A] and [B], but in general they are surprisingly distinct.¹⁰

In the Appendix, [A] is divided into three categories: (I) longer collections (containing all or all but one of the seven central texts); (II) shorter collections (containing three or more of the central texts); (III) isolated texts (containing one or two of the central texts). (I) is the biggest category,

with fourteen MSS; there are nine in (II) and eleven in (III). But most of the MSS in (II) have at least four of the central texts, and they may well have lost leaves or quires which included the others. Most of the MSS in (III) are fragments, which most plausibly came from complete or near-complete collections of the central texts, since there is little evidence for their circulation except in this way.¹¹ The evidence of commentaries made at the time suggests that Boethius' textbooks on categorical and hypothetical syllogisms and on division were less studied than the other four works, but there is only a small variation in the total numbers of copies of all seven central texts: Porphyry, *Isagoge*: twenty-six; Aristotle, *Categories*: twenty-five; Aristotle, *On Interpretation*: twenty-two; Boethius, *De topicis differentiis*: twenty-six; Boethius, *De divisione*: twenty-one; Boethius, *De syllogismis categoricis*: twenty; Boethius, *De syllogismis hypotheticis*: fifteen. The manuscript evidence therefore bears out Abelard's description of the core curriculum; and, although the dating of manuscripts within the twelfth century is often imprecise, there is no suggestion from the evidence presented in the Appendix that the core curriculum had changed by the end of the century. But whereas Abelard speaks of seven *codices*, the norm seems to have been a single volume, containing all seven of the central texts, or most of them (see Appendix, section A).

These volumes were not normally glossed, and they very rarely contain commentaries or other logical texts from the twelfth century.¹² They are in general more carefully presented and written than the cramped booklets which do contain twelfth-century commentaries. Consider, for example, the nine surviving complete or near-complete collections listed under [I] in the Appendix, other than the five special cases which contain *logica nova* texts too (see later in this chapter). The books are of medium size (averaging about 250 mm × 100 mm; the smallest (8: Orleans, Bibl. mun. 265) is 151 mm × 95 mm, the biggest (6: London, Lambeth Palace 339) 260 mm × 170 mm). All except one have some elements of decoration, in some cases (2, 6, 7, 9) quite elaborate. No. 2 (Darmstadt, Landesbibl. 2282), in particular, includes not only elaborate, monochrome initials, but a frontispiece (Figure 12.1), depicting Dialectica, with her customary snake in one hand and a model of Porphyry's tree in the other.¹³ At each corner is a famous philosopher: Plato, Aristotle, Socrates, and (depicted in the same way) Master Adam, that is to say Adam of the Petit-Pont (in Paris, where he had his school) or of Balsham (his home village). This volume therefore presumably is connected to his school, one of those which flourished in the second half of the century, when the manuscript was written.

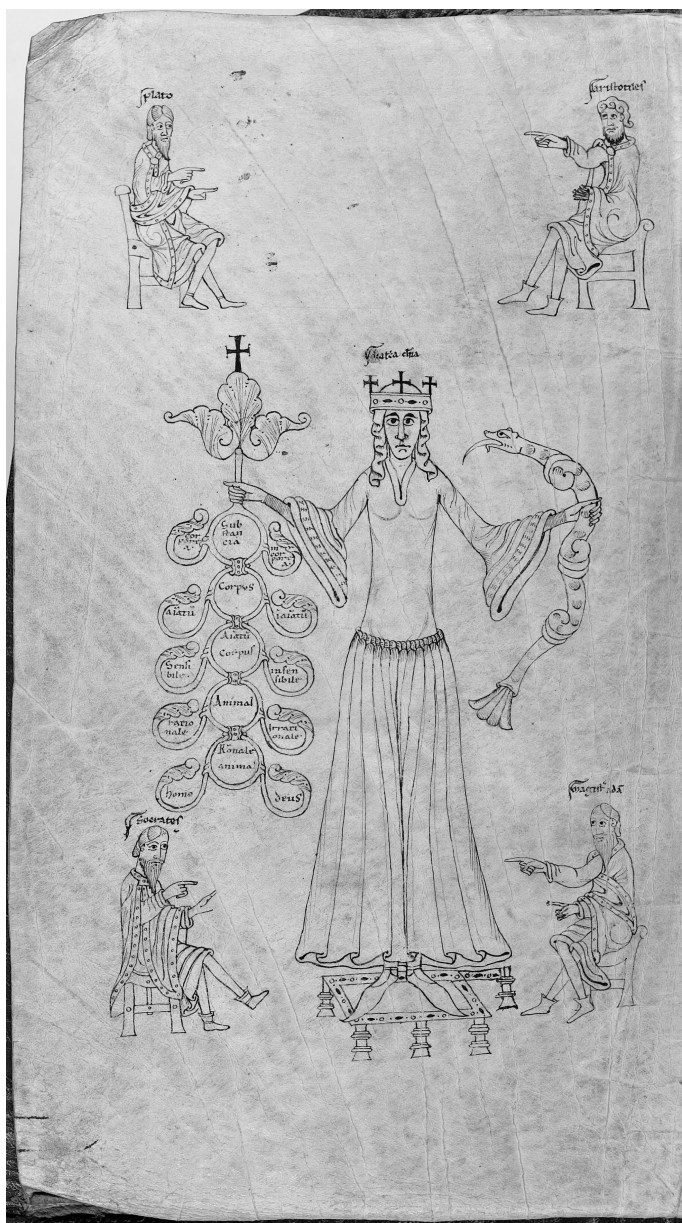


Figure 12.1 Depiction of Dialectica. Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, 2282, f. iv.

Although the seven central texts form a distinct group, because of their popularity, they are sometimes joined in the same collections by other logical texts – usually examples of the ‘Roman’ curriculum studied in earlier centuries – Cicero’s *Topics* in 1, 3, 4, 10, 14; Apuleius’ *Periermenias* in 5 and 14, and Boethius’ commentary on Cicero’s *Topics* in 23. The pseudo-Boethian *De definitione* was sometimes added (1, 4, and 6),¹⁴ as was Boethius’ own *Introductio in syllogismos categoricos* (1, 3, 4, 20, 24) – regarded as a supplement to, not a replacement for *De syllogismis categoricis*.

The texts of the ‘Roman’ syllabus, which had begun to go out of fashion by the beginning of the eleventh century, were copied occasionally not just with the central texts, but in what might be called archaic logical collections. The list in the Appendix (VII) omits copies of the pseudo-Augustinian *Categoriae decem* included in collections of Augustine’s works, and also copies of Cicero’s *Topics* and Boethius’ commentary included in otherwise non-logical manuscripts. Of the five manuscripts listed, one (87: Charleville, Bibl. mun. 187) combines two central texts with archaic ones.

There was considerably more enthusiasm for the newly available texts of the *logica nova* than for the ‘Roman’ ones. With an important exception, these texts were usually grouped together (75, 80–4) or appear singly (76–9, 85), but are not copied with the central texts (but 75 – Bologna, Bibl. Univ. 4228 – includes a copy of *On Interpretation*). The exception consists of no fewer than five ‘longer collections’ (1, 5, 11, 12, 13) which unite three or more *logica nova* texts with a full collection of the central texts. Two of these manuscripts (grouped together as a single collection, 1: Chartres, Bibl. mun. 497, 498) belong to the assemblage which was deliberately made by Thierry of Chartres in the mid-century of textbooks on the seven liberal arts – his ‘*Heptateuchon*’.¹⁵ The other four are all manuscripts from late in the century which should be considered as the earliest examples of what would become a standard type of university logical manuscript, collecting together the works of Aristotle’s *Organon*, including Porphyry’s *Isagoge*, and, like them – and unlike most twelfth-century collections – adding the *Liber de sex principiis*, a twelfth-century composition on the six categories, a subject treated only fleetingly by Aristotle himself. The manuscript evidence therefore bears out the idea that, for most of the twelfth century, in the schools the *logica nova* was studied apart from the main curriculum. But whereas the evidence of commentaries and treatises might suggest that, of the *logica nova*, only the *Sophistical Refutations* were widely studied before 1200, the evidence of the manuscripts suggests otherwise. The other texts of the *logica nova* are

nearly as popular (*Sophistical Refutations*, fourteen copies; *Topics*, eleven; *Prior Analytics*, nine; *Posterior Analytics*, six; *Liber de VI principiis*, three), although only one commentary on the *Prior Analytics* is known, and no commentary on the *Topics* or *Posterior Analytics* before the 1230s.¹⁶ The existence of university-type complete *Organon* manuscripts from the last decade of the twelfth century or earlier (5, 11, 12, 13) also suggests that, even if the twelfth-century schools with their characteristic interests continued to flourish up to and beyond 1200, the logical curriculum which would characterise study in the universities was already becoming established.¹⁷

The texts of the logical curriculum were difficult to approach without a guide. Pre-twelfth-century manuscripts of the *Categoriae decem* and Porphyry's *Isagoge* quite often contain an extensive marginal commentary.¹⁸ In the twelfth century, by contrast, the aids for study took the form of independent commentaries, either by contemporaries (see Section 3) or by Boethius (only for the *Isagoge* and the two works by Aristotle). In the case of the contemporary commentaries, they are almost always in separate manuscripts. Those by Boethius usually are. Thirty twelfth-century manuscripts contain one or more of Boethius' commentaries without any of the central texts – almost as many as the manuscripts of the central texts, although the number of copies of each Boethian commentary is considerably less: Commentary on *Isagoge* 1: seven; on *Isagoge* 2: ten; on *Categories*: eighteen; on *On Interpretation* 1: eight; on *On Interpretation* 2: sixteen. Perhaps because of the length of the commentaries, no manuscript collects all of them; indeed, most contain just one, with an especially large number containing the most complex and challenging of them, the second commentary on *On Interpretation*.¹⁹ It is interesting that, although Boethius wrote his two commentaries on *On Interpretation* as a pair, they are copied together in only one manuscript of the period (59: BnF lat. 6400 F, ca. 1100).

More rarely, Boethius' commentaries are combined with texts. Surprisingly, in nearly half of the cases (70, 72–4), the logical texts do not match up with the Boethian commentary, and in another two MSS (68–9) there is only a partial match. The commentaries are written out separately from the texts, except in one manuscript: (67: Bamberg, Staatsbibl. Class 15 [HJ.IV.9]) contains a text of the *Isagoge* and, separately, Boethius' first commentary, but it also has copies of Boethius' commentary on the *Categories* and his first commentary on *On Interpretation* with Aristotle's texts written in the margins (which are unusually wide, suggesting that this presentation was planned in advance).

3 Twelfth-Century Logical Commentaries

As mentioned earlier, twelfth-century logical commentaries are rarely found in the same manuscripts as the ancient and late antique textbooks or Boethius' commentaries.²⁰ Over the past few decades, a number of scholars have tried to identify and catalogue manuscripts containing twelfth-century logical commentaries.²¹ Although the majority is unpublished, most twelfth-century logical commentaries have been transcribed by Yukio Iwakuma (of Fukui Prefectural University), who has generously shared them with other scholars. The method of the commentaries has been scrutinised and a distinction has been made between literal commentaries (word-by-word exegesis of the letter of the commented text), problem/question commentaries (discursive treatment of the problems raised by the commented text), and composite commentaries (combining both aspects).²² It has been noted that some commentaries are collections of glosses meant to supplement a pre-existing commentary,²³ and the features of commentary prologues have also attracted attention.²⁴

The dissemination of twelfth-century logical commentaries exhibits five main characteristics. First, they tend to circulate in twelfth-century manuscripts only. Second, the manuscripts containing them stand out for their poverty: lack of decoration, poor parchment and minute and abbreviated handwriting are fairly common. Third, the manuscripts are few – totalling well below 100. Fourth, the commentaries are generally anonymous. Finally, and related to the third point, most of the commentaries are usually found in a single copy. When found in more than one copy, commentaries have two special characteristics. On the one hand, their text tends to vary greatly from one manuscript to the other. On the other, their manuscripts tend to be interrelated with respect to content. All in all, the dissemination of logical commentaries seems to have relied on limited material and human resources. Below the surface, however, the matter is more complicated – probably, as we shall see, as a result of the special sort of authorship pertaining to this sort of writing. In what follows, we try to look more carefully at the fourth and fifth aspects: anonymity (I) and single- versus multiple-copy commentaries (II). We then adumbrate the second feature, the poverty of manuscripts (III), concluding with some considerations on the best method for analysing this material (IV).

1. Logical commentaries are usually *anonymous* in their manuscripts. There are a few exceptions, of which Peter Abelard stands out as the most prominent.²⁵ Several commentaries are attributed to him explicitly;²⁶ not all of them authentic.²⁷ Otherwise, given the anonymity of twelfth-century logical commentaries and frequently similar incipits, scholars today find it

best to identify each commentary using alphanumeric tags: 'P' stands for Porphyry's *Isagoge*; 'C' for the *Categories*; 'H' for *On Interpretation* (*Peri hermeneias*); 'SE' for the *Sophistici Elenchi*; 'B' for Boethius' *De differentiis topicis*; 'D' for *De divisione*; 'SC' for *De syllogismis categoricis*; and 'SH' for *De syllogismis hypotheticis*; the various commentaries on the *Isagoge* are thus named 'P1', 'P2', and so on, and similarly for the other works.²⁸

II. Each logical commentary usually survives in *one single* manuscript. Exceptions to the rule are rare, and none of them is disseminated in more than a handful of manuscripts. For instance, of the eighteen commentaries on *De differentiis topicis* dateable to the period from before 1100 to 1200, only two (*B8* and *B12*) are transmitted by more than one manuscript (one by three and one by two).²⁹ Commentaries transmitted by more than one manuscript seem to have been particularly influential pieces of writing dating from the early twelfth century, such as *P3*, *C8*, and *H11*.³⁰ As mentioned earlier, such 'standard' commentaries have two special characteristics, which warrant further discussion. First, when a commentary exists in more than one manuscript, it frequently has a significantly different textual form in each (**II. 1**). Second, when a commentary is found in more than one manuscript, such manuscripts are usually themselves interrelated (**II. 2**).

II. 1 The fluidity of logical commentaries has been observed at different levels.³¹ On the one hand, when transmitted by more than one manuscript, significant sections of what is otherwise the same commentary cannot be collated. On the other, sections of a certain commentary are found in what is otherwise a distinct commentary – as comments either on the same passage, or on a different passage of the same primary text, or on a different passage of a different primary text. The same text therefore seems to exist in different manifestations. The very notion of *the same text* becomes problematic. Are two pieces of writing which share significant sections two versions of the same commentary or two separate (but related) commentaries? The simple and elegant way of referring to each commentary by means of its alphanumeric tag can face difficulties. We give two examples; the first is related to the *Isagoge* commentaries, the second to the *Categories* commentaries. *P15*, prima facie, seems distinct from both *P3* and *P16*. Closer inspection, however, reveals that *P15* has significant sections in common with each, to the point that it was employed in editing *P3*. In turn *P3* exists in four manuscripts with significant variants among them. What is more, *P3* also shares two passages with *P14*.³² The same happens in commentaries *C7* (BnF, lat. 17813, ff. 19bis–54) and *C14* (Assisi, Bibl. del Sacro Conv. 573, ff. 15–48) with respect to *C8*. In turn *C8* exists in

four manuscripts with significant variations. Such variations are unevenly distributed (they are concentrated in the second half of the commentary, from chapter 6 of the *Categories* onwards).³³ Textual fluidity may also shed light on the anonymity of commentaries. Far from being due simply to a missing inscription, anonymity seems to be a result of this very fluidity. Some commentaries might have been reworked by different masters (whose views might not always coincide). In some cases, the text appears to be layered, with new interpretations added to an existing commentary.³⁴

II. 2 Manuscripts of multiple-copy commentaries also tend to be inter-related. By ‘interrelated manuscripts’, I mean manuscripts that transmit similar collections of twelfth-century logical texts (commentaries, independent treatises, or shorter notes). Their relationships are as follows. BAV Reg. lat. 230 transmits a version of *C8*, a commentary also found in BnF lat. 13368; BL Royal 7 D. xxv; BSB Clm 14458; and, in a slightly different form (= *CI4*), Assisi, Bibl. del Sacro Conv. 573.³⁵ The Vatican manuscript also transmits *B8*, also found in Orleans, Bibl. mun. 266, and Paris, Bibl. de l’Arsenal 910. This is followed by *HII*, again in common with BnF lat. 13368. In turn, BnF lat. 13368 transmits (in addition to single-copy texts and to the multiple-copy texts that have been mentioned) a treatise *De generibus et speciebus* and one on modals, which are also found in the aforementioned Orleans, Bibl. mun. 266; along with *D8*, also found in the aforementioned Assisi, Bibl. del Sacro Conv. 573; and *P3*, again found in the Assisi manuscript as well as in Bodl. Libr. Laud. lat. 67, and St Gallen, Stiftsbibl. 134 (and in Dublin, Trinity Coll. 494, where it has a slightly different form, *P15*, which has sections in common with commentary *P16* of the aforementioned BSB Clm 14458). Assisi, Bibl. del Sacro Conv. 573 has already been mentioned for several relationships. In addition, it transmits *H9*, found in Orleans, Bibl. mun. 266. Orleans, Bibl. mun. 266 is an extremely rich collection of twelfth-century logical texts. Some of them are found in this manuscript alone. Of those also copied elsewhere, some have been mentioned already: in addition, the Orleans MS transmits *SH3*, also found in BSB Clm 14458 and St Gallen, Stiftsbibl. 134 (and, in fragmentary form, *SH9*, in BSB Clm 14779). The Orleans MS also transmits *DI*, also found in St Gallen, Stiftsbibl., 134, and in Paris, Bibl. de l’Arsenal, 910.³⁶ Such complicated relations show that, when manuscript *a* transmits a commentary *x* which is also found in manuscript *b* (that is, a multiple-copy commentary), *a* and *b* often share other texts as well; and/or they are related to a single third manuscript *c* that brings together material found separately in *a* and *b*; and/or *a* shares content with *c* and *b* shares different

content with *d*, and *c* and *d* are themselves related either directly or indirectly. The pattern is multiplied, resulting in a high number of relationships. This all seems to suggest that interrelated manuscripts transmit texts originating from the same milieu.

III. Some of the manuscripts that transmit twelfth-century commentaries are homogeneous and of fairly high quality.³⁷ Generally speaking, however, they are non-homogeneous codices of rather inferior quality.³⁸ As a rule, manuscripts have no decoration and are crafted with great parsimony. The handwriting, for instance, is minute; almost every word is abbreviated (sometimes highly);³⁹ and the same hand is rarely responsible for more than one quire or one text. The most interesting feature of manuscripts transmitting twelfth-century commentaries, however, is their non-homogeneity, to which we now turn.

Different codicological units are identified by features such as change in the script, mise-en-page, and text; lack of catchwords at the end of quires; and blank pages.⁴⁰ Manuscripts transmitting twelfth-century logical commentaries can be non-homogeneous in two different ways. In some cases, a codicological unit transmitting logical texts is found with entirely unrelated units, differing with respect to both subject matter and date. An example is BnF lat. 3237, transmitting *Pr17*. *Pr17* is read on a quaternion (ff. 123–130, f. 130v blank). The manuscript is made of thirteen other codicological sections dating from various centuries, the subjects of which range from theology to liturgy to logic.⁴¹ Given the dating of certain sections, this manuscript must have been assembled much later than the twelfth century when the section on logic was written.

In other cases, however, more than one (or even all) codicological units contain twelfth-century logical texts (and date from the twelfth century, as is usual for this material). Most interrelated manuscripts mentioned earlier belong to this category. Probably the clearest examples are Orleans, Bibl. mun. 266, and BnF lat. 13368. The Orleans manuscript transmits twenty-eight twelfth-century logical commentaries and treatises, written by several hands dateable to the middle and second half of the century.⁴² At least three codicological units have been identified (pp. 5–120; 121–290; 291–300).⁴³ Their number, however, may be higher. For instance, pp. 153–70 seem to be a distinct section (a quaternion plus a singleton). The content of pp. 153–70 is found in exactly the same order in the Parisian manuscript, ff. 168r–177r, also a distinct codicological unit. The Parisian manuscript is, in fact, an example of both sorts of composition. The manuscript has several codicological units, and ff. 128–231, containing logical texts, even have their own

independent foliation. But this logical section, in turn, is composite. Iwakuma identifies five codicological units in it, dating from slightly different periods between 1130 and 1160.⁴⁴

Non-homogeneous manuscripts of the second sort are extremely interesting because they share some features with the entirely homogeneous ones. The case can be made for such material having been bound together already in the twelfth century. Interrelated logical manuscripts are never related to one another in their entirety. They are always related partially, via a given codicological unit (as in the Orleans-Paris example cited earlier). A way of explaining the partial relationships could be that such units were booklets, which enjoyed some form of independence before being bound with the units accompanying them today.⁴⁵ And if a unit transmitting twelfth-century logical texts circulated independently for some time and is now bound with units also transmitting twelfth-century logical texts, the fact seems meaningful. Of course, as Erik Kwakkel has highlighted, there are limitations to what can be united in a composite manuscript, particularly with respect to page height.⁴⁶ However, twelfth-century logical commentaries are, as has been said, quite rare. Their content and authors are also difficult to identify, as rubrics and decoration are frequently lacking. It is hard to see how somebody much later than the twelfth century would have the skill or will to identify material as logic from this period and collect it together. So non-homogeneous manuscripts containing logical commentaries in more than one codicological unit may result from an intentional act of collecting this material at a time close to when they were written. Careful analysis of the content frequently supports such a hypothesis. For instance, it has long been noted that the texts transmitted by the Orleans manuscript in its different codicological units all report the views of Joscelin of Soissons and William of Champeaux. Unfortunately, too little is known of the purpose of manuscripts transmitting twelfth-century logical commentaries, their production, or their intended readership for firm conclusions to be drawn. We do not, for instance, know whether the composition of a particular manuscript stems from the way in which an author assigned his writings for reproduction, or from an act of collecting a certain kind of material performed by an interested reader, or both.⁴⁷

IV. Such observations prompt a final remark about the best method to investigate this kind of material. Scholars investigating twelfth-century logical commentaries are confronted by a peculiar lack of unity. The text, existing in different versions, is not a single entity; in many cases, there is probably more than one author; and the dissemination of

many of these texts took place through booklets rather than homogeneous, higher-quality manuscripts. Researchers can try to accommodate these features into their approach to the subject in two ways. On the one hand, they can try to follow such lack of unity by adopting a 'modular approach'.⁴⁸ Texts abound with lists of contemporary opinions on given problems, and often indicate the name of the *magister* supporting a certain opinion (or at least his initials). Scholars can therefore follow a problem-by-problem approach (collecting all the opinions on a certain problem) or a master-by-master approach (collecting all the opinions of a certain master).⁴⁹ Another way of studying these writings, we suggest, is to place weight on the manuscript itself as an important element of unity within this material. Indeed, the juxtaposition of texts in homogeneous manuscripts is usually meaningful. BnF lat. 17813 (Figure 12.2) transmits four texts all close to the teachings of William of Champeaux on realism. Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana 63 sup. is a collection of Abelard's and Abelardian commentaries. Non-homogeneous manuscripts collecting several codicological units of twelfth-century logic may also have been gathered in the twelfth century following a certain purpose, as has been said. Thus the manuscript, it can be argued, stands as an important unity to which scholars should resort in their investigations of this fluid and multifaceted material.

4 Twelfth-Century Treatises and Independent Works

Twelfth-century logicians did not just write commentaries. They produced independent works, ranging from longer treatises, which attempt to cover the whole of the subject. Only a few survive: Garlandus' *Dialectica* (probably ca. 1100–10), Abelard's *Dialectica* (ca. 1110–5), Adam of Balsham's *Ars disserendi* (1132); from the mid-century the '*Compendium logicae Porretanum*', the '*Ars meliduna*', and the '*Introductiones montane maiores*'; and from the 1180s William of Lucca's *Summa dialetice artis*. Except for Garlandus' *Dialectica*, of which there are two extant copies, all these treatises each survive in just one twelfth-century manuscript. Some did not survive at all: for instance, Abelard very probably wrote a *Grammatica*, which – despite the title – was an important contribution to logic, but no copy of it remains.⁵⁰ These works were just a little more likely than the commentaries to be explicitly attributed to an author in the manuscript – as in the case of Abelard's *Dialectica*, one of the manuscripts of Garlandus' *Dialectica*, and the *Ars disserendi*. The other works, though, are anonymous (and the titles given in inverted commas are ones made up by modern

editors). These treatises also differ from the commentaries in that there are no close relations between them. Where they do not occupy the whole of a manuscript (or an independent part of one), they are not normally combined with other logical material.

There was also a different sort of, usually shorter, logical treatise, called '*Introductiones*', devoted to explaining the art of making and evaluating arguments, especially on the basis of Aristotle's *On Interpretation*.⁵¹ Yukio Iwakuma has listed twelve such treatises. In one case at least, *Introductiones* in two different manuscripts are closely connected;⁵² and one set, the *Introductiones montane minores*, is copied in two manuscripts. The manuscripts transmitting them often contain other logical treatises or commentaries: for example, one of the two manuscripts containing the *Introductiones montane minores* contains another *Introductiones* text and four other short logical works, and the other contains seven further logic works or notes and three commentaries.

There are, as previous comments will have hinted, many short logical notes and works from the twelfth century in manuscripts of the time, ranging from what are hardly more than jottings about masters' opinions to treatises on particular themes, such as Abelard's *De intellectibus* or the *De generibus et speciebus*. Usually, a number of such pieces will be found together in a single manuscript, often together with *Introductiones* and/or commentaries. The manuscripts of the *Introductiones montane minores* are one example. Another is Orleans, Bibl. mun. 266, discussed extensively in Section 3: it contains twelve commentaries, four collections of notes on a textbook, and twelve twelfth-century logical works or passages.⁵³

It is common to all this material, from the comprehensive treatises to the brief notes, that it was almost never copied after the beginning of the thirteenth century. The one exception is Adam of Balsham's *Ars disserendi*, which survives in a twelfth-century manuscript and, in a different (and partly more authentic form) in a manuscript from ca. 1300 and its fifteenth-century copy.⁵⁴

5 Conclusion

Twelfth-century logical manuscripts fall into three largely distinct groups. There are the manuscripts of the ancient and late antique textbooks, and Boethius' commentaries; those transmitting the few long, comprehensive treatises on logic by twelfth-century authors; and those which contain twelfth-century commentaries and/or shorter twelfth-century logical

writings, ranging from *Introductiones* to notes. Within the first group there is a distinction between manuscripts containing the central texts of the logical curriculum, and those with texts of the *logica nova* (including Aristotelian texts without a twelfth-century commentary tradition). And, although a few manuscripts contain the central texts along with one or more of Boethius' commentaries, the usual pattern is for Boethius' commentaries to be transmitted separately from the texts with which they are concerned.

A similar and even sharper division can be seen between the twelfth-century commentaries and the textbooks on which they comment, which are hardly ever contained in the same manuscript. The explanation for this surprising separation of linked material probably lies in the way the manuscripts functioned in the schools. But there are as yet no clear answers to the question of who used the manuscripts, how they used them, and what were the interrelations between lecturing, learning by heart, writing on wax tablets, and copying on parchment.⁵⁵ Indeed, one of the important contributions which study of the twelfth-century book can make to understanding the intellectual life of the time is in providing evidence to respond to such queries. This chapter, therefore, is not so much a finished piece of work as a collection of data, along with some suggested interpretations, intended to contribute to the wider project of understanding the methods and aims of the twelfth-century schools.

APPENDIX

This appendix lists the surviving twelfth-century manuscripts of ancient and late antique logical texts and commentaries ('relevant material'). Only twelfth-century manuscripts are included (so e.g. 'after 1150' means 1150–1200), although I have included manuscripts listed as being from the turn of the twelfth century (I use the designation 'ca. 1100'), and the turn of the thirteenth century (I use the designation 'ca. 1200'). For MSS dated to early in the century, I say 'early', and for those late in the century, 'late'. Where no date is given, then the best dating available to me is simply: twelfth-century. Where booklets not containing relevant material, or not from the twelfth century, are bound with manuscripts listed, they have been ignored. I have tried to indicate where a manuscript is made up of more than one distinct booklet containing relevant material (see 71 and 80). In most other cases, the relevant material is not in distinct booklets, although the catalogues on which I rely are not always clear enough to rule

out the possibility. My main sources of information have been the *Codices* volumes of *Aristoteles Latinus* (AL) and the four volumes so far published of *Codices Boethiani* (CB), the datings of which I have preferred in cases of disagreement. I have also used the lists of manuscripts in Boethius, *De syllogismo categorico* and *Introductio ad syllogismos categoricos*, and Thomson, *Catalogue*, I and II. I have been able both to check and to supplement this information from the very valuable collection of material which Yukio Iwakuma makes available to those working in the field, and a number of items (as indicated in what follows) are noted by him alone. I and all scholars in this field owe an immense debt to Professor Iwakuma's vast and detailed work.

Abbreviations

Central Works

- P: Porphyry, *Isagoge*
 C: Aristotle, *Categories*
 H: Aristotle, *On Interpretation*
 B: Boethius, *De topicis differentiis*
 D: Boethius, *De divisione*
 SC: Boethius, *De syllogismo categorico*
 SH: Boethius, *De syllogismis hypotheticis*
 S: all of the previously listed seven works (P, C, H, B, D, SC, SH)
 ISC: Boethius, *Introductio ad syllogismos categoricos*

Boethian Commentaries

- InP1/ InP2: Boethius, Commentary on *Isagoge*, prima editio (dialogue)/secunda editio
 InC: Boethius, Commentary on *Categories*
 InH1/ inH2: Boethius, Commentary on *On Interpretation* prima editio/secunda editio

Works of the 'Roman' Curriculum

- Alcuin: Alcuin, *De dialectica*
 Apuleius: Apuleius, *Periermenias*
 CatX: pseudo-Augustine, *Categoriae decem*
 Defin: Marius Victorinus, *De definitione*
 InTC: Boethius, Commentary on Cicero's *Topics*
 TC: Cicero, *Topics*

Logica nova

lsp:	<i>Liber de sex principiis</i>
pa:	Aristotle, <i>Prior Analytics</i>
posta:	Aristotle, <i>Posterior Analytics</i>
se:	Aristotle, <i>Sophistical Refutations</i>
ta:	Aristotle, <i>Topics</i>

A Central Texts*I Longer Collections (Containing All or Almost All of the Seven Central Texts): 14*

1. <AL474.465> Chartres, Bibl. mun. 497, 498 [ca. 1150] (destroyed), **S**, ISC, *Defin*, *TC*, se, pa, ta
2. <AL848> Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibl. 2282 [late], **S**
3. <AL909> Erlangen, Universitätsbibl. 191 [late], **S**, ISC, *TC*
4. <AL1388; CBIII.121> Florence, Bibl. Laurenz. S. Marco 166 [after 1150], **S**, ISC, *Defin*, *TC*
5. <AL51; CBII.Austria23> Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibl. 1098 [1170/90], **S**, *TC*, *Apuleius*, lsp, pa, posta, se, ta
6. <AL287; CBI.146> London, Lambeth Palace 339 [after 1150], **S**, *Defin*, *TC*
7. <AL1452; CBIII.200> Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana M 62 sup. [ca. 1100], P, C, H, B, D, SC
8. <AL435> Orleans, Bibl. mun. 265 [12 ex./13 in.], P, C, H, B, SH (fragments), SC
9. <AL1511; CBIII.260> Padua, Bibl. Antoniana 553 scaff. XXII [ca. 1150], **S**
10. <AL765> Tours, Bibl. mun. 676 [ca. 1200, perhaps later] (destroyed), **S**, *TC*
11. <CBIII.413> BAV Borgh. 131 [ca. 1200], **S**, *TC*, lsp, se, pa, posta
12. <AL1871; CBIII.539> BAV Vat. lat. 2978 [ca. 1200], P, C, H, B, D, lsp, se, pa, posta, ta
13. <AL1875; CBIII.543> BAV Vat. lat. 2982 [ca. 1200], P, C, H, lsp, se, pa, posta, ta
14. <AL1645; CBIII.380> Venice, Bibl. Naz. Marciana lat. Z 273 (=1574) [ca. 1200], **S**, *TC*, *Apuleius*

II Shorter Collections (Containing Three or More of the Central Texts): 10

15. <AL1386; CBIII.118> Florence, Bibl. Laurenz. S. Marco 125, C, H, B, SC, SH
16. <AL147; CBII.Netherlands15> Leiden, Universiteitsbibl. BPL 1925, P, C, H, B, D
17. <AL2044; CBI.87> BL Add. 18342 [after 1150], P, C, H, D
18. <AL379; CBI.237> Oxford, Trinity Coll. 47 [before 1150], P, C, H, B, ta
19. <AL1526; CBIII.269> Padua, Bibl. Universitaria 1688 [late], C, P, B, D, SC
20. <Iwakuma> BnF lat 6400 G, B, D, SC, SH, ISC
21. <Iwakuma> BnF lat 12959, B, D, SC, SH
22. <Iwakuma> BAV Ottob. lat. 1974 [ca. 1100], P, C, H, B
23. <CBIII.485> BAV Reg. lat. 1649 [ca. 1100], B, D, SC, SH, *InTC*
24. <CBIII.526> BAV Vat. lat. 1722 [before 1150], B, D, SC, ISC

III Isolated Texts (Containing One or Two of the Central Texts): 11

25. <BIII.12> Assisi, Bibl. del Sacro Conv. 573, P (fragment)
26. <AL2123> Bern, Burgerbibl. 702, P (fragment)
27. <AL258; CBI.25> Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum Maclean 165, C, B
28. <CBI.155> London, private owner [ca. 1200], B (fragments)
29. <Thomsen Thornqvist> BSB Clm 14503, ISC (fragment)
30. <Iwakuma> BSB Clm 29246(1) [late], P (fragment)
31. <Iwakuma> BSB Clm 29246(2) [late], P (fragment)
32. <Iwakuma> BSB Clm 29384(23) [late], D (fragment)
33. <AL1493> Naples, Bibl. Nat. Vindob. 47 (Martini 7) [late], C (fragment)
34. <Iwakuma> Pommersfelden, Schlossbibl. 16/27664, SC
35. <AL2116> Trier, Bistumsarchiv. 6, P

B Boethius' Commentaries

IV Boethian Commentaries (Manuscripts Containing One or More of Boethius' Commentaries, but None of the Central Texts): 30

36. <AL2087> Bamberg, Staatsbibl. Class 15 (HJ.IV.9), InP1, InP2
37. <CBII.Switzerland22> Bern, Burgerbibl. 332, InH2

38. <AL2132; CBIV.Spain17> Córdoba, Bibl. de la Catedral 153, H2
39. <AL1943; CBI.57> Durham Cath. A. II. 11 [ca. 1150], InC
40. <AL2097> Erfurt, Universitätsbibl. Dep. Erf. Cod. Amplon. 8° 66 InC
41. <AL1317; CBIII.60> Florence, Bibl. Laurenz. Plut.71, 21, InH2
42. <AL1382; CBIII.114> Florence, Bibl. Laurenz. S. Marco 102, InP1, InP2
43. <AL1383; CBIII.115> Florence, Bibl. Laurenz. S. Marco 113, InP2, InH2
44. <AL1384; CBIII.116> Florence, Bibl. Laurenz. S. Marco 114 [after 1150], InC
45. <AL1385; CBIII.117> Florence, Bibl. Laurenz. S. Marco 124, InH2
46. <AL1387; CBIII.119> Florence, Bibl. Laurenz. S. Marco 130, InP2, InC, InH2
47. <AL933> Göttingen, Universitätsbibl., Apparat. Diplom. 10E. Mappe IV.1, InC (fragment)
48. <AL1947> Hereford Cath. O. VIII. 6, InC (fragments)
49. <AL2095> Kues, St. Nikolaus-Hospital 190 [ca. 1100], InP2
50. <AL293; CBI.98> BL Arundel 348 [before 1150], InH2
51. <CBI.121> BL Harley 2713, InP1
52. <AL1018> BSB Clm 331, InH1
53. <AL434> Orleans, Bibl. mun. 80 [ca. 1100], InH2
54. <AL436> Orleans, Bibl. mun. 269 [ca. 1100], InP1, InP2, InC
55. <AL537> BnF lat. 1954 [ca. 1100], InC
56. <AL539> BnF lat. 2858, InC
57. <AL579> BnF lat. 6400C [ca. 1100], InH2
58. <AL580> BnF lat. 6400D, InH2
59. <AL582> BnF lat. 6400 F [ca. 1100], InH1, InH2
60. <AL652> BnF lat. 15104, InH2
61. <CBIII.284> Pistoia, Archivio Capit. C. 77 [ca. 1200], InP2
62. <AL190> Prague, Bibl. Cap. Metr. L. 54, InH1
63. <Iwakuma> Tournai, Bibl. mun. 74 bis [ca. 1100] (destroyed), InP2 (fragments)
64. <AL2189; CBIII.522> BAV Vat. lat. 566, InH2, InC
65. <AL23> *olim* Vollbehr, Dr. O. (Washington, DC), present whereabouts unknown, 9 [late], InP1, InC

V Boethian Commentaries with Texts (Manuscripts Containing One or More of Boethius' Commentaries, and One or More of the Central/Peripheral Texts): 9

(a) *With Central Text(s)*

- 66. <AL406> Avranches, Bibl. mun. 229, P, C, H, InP₁, InC, InH₁
- 67. <AL790> Bamberg, Staatsbibl. Class. 10 (H.J.IV,7), C, H, InC, InH₁
- 68. <AL267; CBII.Switzerland32> Cologny-Genève, Bibl. Bodmeriana 9 [ca. 1100], C, InC, H
- 69. <AL43; CBII.Austria20> Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibl. 671, C, InC, B, D
- 70. <AL581> BnF lat. 6400E [ca. 1100], D, SH, *Defin.*, InH₂
- 71. <CBII.Switzerland62> St Gallen, Stiftsbibl. 831 [two parts, the first ca. 1100, the second twelfth-century], P, InP₁; *TC* in first, earlier part of MS
- 72. <CBIII.499> BAV Rossi 537 [ca. 1150], B, SC, inP₁, InP₂, InC

(b) *With Peripheral Text*

- 73. <AL575> BnF lat. 6398, InC, InH₂, *Apuleius*
- 74. <AL747> Rouen, Bibl. mun. 932, InH₂, *Alcuin*

C Other Ancient Textbooks

VI Logica nova (Manuscripts Containing Only Texts of the Logica nova): 11

- 75. <AL2144; CBIII.27> Bologna, Bibl. Univ. 4228 [ca. 1150], H (fragment), se, pa, ta
- 76. <AL243; CBI.52> Cambridge, Trinity Coll. O. 7. 9 (1337) [ca. 1200], se
- 77. <AL470> Chartres, Bibl. mun. 92 (destroyed), posta
- 78. <AL473> Chartres, Bibl. mun. 190 (destroyed), se
- 79. <AL1330; CBIII.95> Florence, Bibl. Laurenz. Ashburnham 1459 (1382), se
- 80. <AL1361; CBIII.84> Florence, Bibl. Laurenz. Plut. 11 9, se, ta; pa [two parts, part one twelfth-century, part two, containing pa, ca. 1200]

- 81. <AL1420; CBIII.148> Florence, Bibl. Riccardiana Ricc. 126 (L.IV.6) [late], se, pa, posta, ta
- 82. <AL488> Laon, Bibl. mun. 435 ter [ca. 1200], se, ta
- 83. <AL1450> Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana I. 195, se, pa
- 84. <AL1065> BSB Clm 16123 [ca. 1200], se, ta
- 85. <Iwakuma> BSB Clm 29384(25) [late], ta

VII Archaic Collections: 5

- 86. <AL38> Admont, Stiftsbibl. 742, *Defin.*, *Apuleius*
- 87. <AL2056> Charleville, Bibl. mun. 187, B, D, *Defin. CatX* (also, Augustine, *De dialectica*)
- 88. <Iwakuma> BSB Clm 22292, *Apuleius, Defin.* (also, Martianus Capella, *De nuptiis*, Book IV [on logic])
- 89. <AL2190; CBIII.523> BAV Vat. lat. 567, *CatX, InTC*
- 90. <Iwakuma> Vercelli, Bibl. Capitolare CXCIX (35), *CatX*

Notes

- 1. John Marenbon is the author of Sections 1, 2, 4, and the Appendix, Caterina Tarlazzi of Section 3.
- 2. Often twelfth-century authors call the subject *dialectica*, but sometimes this word is used to refer specifically to topical inferences. For this reason, and because of the various contemporary connotations of ‘dialectic’, ‘logic’ is a better term to use.
- 3. For a basic introduction with bibliography (to which should be added Rosier-Catach 2011), see Marenbon 2007, 131–66.
- 4. Abelard, *Dialectica*, 146: 10–7.
- 5. See later in this chapter for the question of how widely the *logica nova* was studied in the twelfth century.
- 6. The *Introductio* is probably Boethius’ reworking and extension of Book I of *De syllogismis categoricis*, and it is a narrower, more advanced work. The standard title used here has no manuscript authority: indeed, *De syllogismis categoricis* is often called *Introductio ad categoricos syllogismos*, and the *Introductio* called *Antepreaedamenta*.
- 7. There are, however, glosses to the copy of *De definitione* in BSB Clm 22292, ff. 6v–15r (Iwakuma).
- 8. On the ‘Roman’ curriculum, see Marenbon 2013a, 176–9.
- 9. On Boethius’ commentaries, see Ebbesen 2009, and Magee and Marenbon 2009, both in Marenbon 2013, the second at 305 (with full details of editions).

10. I touched on the issues discussed here in Marenbon 2013a, 181–2. The complete survey on which the present chapter is based enables the rather qualified conclusions there to be presented more firmly and, in some cases, corrected.
11. The exceptions are 34 (Pommersfelden, Schlossbibl. 16/27664), which, unusually, combines a central text with medieval commentary (which is, however, most probably late eleventh-century: see Hansen 2005, 45–7), and 35 (Trier, Bistumsarchiv 6), where an incomplete copy of the *Isagoge* appears along with various texts and passages connected with the liberal arts.
12. There are a few exceptions. Besides the early 34 (Pommersfelden, Schlossbibl. 16/27664), mentioned in n. 11, 25 (Assisi, Bibl. del sacro conv. 573), which includes a fragment of the *Isagoge*, is one of the important collections of twelfth-century commentaries, discussed in Section III, and 27 includes, besides copies of the *Categories* and *De topicis differentiis*, twelfth-century commentaries on the *Isagoge* (P6) and *Categories* (C6). 15 has extensive glosses.
13. See Figure 12.1; images of the whole manuscript can be found at <http://tudigit.ulb.tu-darmstadt.de/show/Hs-2282/0004>.
14. The status of *De definitione* is hard to define: in its content, it belongs to the Roman curriculum, but it became known only along with Boethius' genuine textbooks, in the late tenth century: see Marenbon 2013, 185–6.
15. See Jeaneau, 'Prologue'.
16. On the *Topics*, see Green-Pedersen 1984, 87; but Iwakuma has discovered a fragment of a *Topics* commentary in Worcester Cath. Q. 12, ff. 393r–4v, dated to ca. 1200. On the *Prior Analytics*, see Thomsen Thornqvist 2010.
17. SE15 (now dated to 1204 or later: Thomson 2013, 2. 160) shows that the twelfth-century schools continued after the beginning of the thirteenth century: cf. Ebbesen 2011.
18. See Marenbon 1981, 116–32 and Appendix 3; 90 (a twelfth-century glossed MS, Vercelli, Bibl. Capitolare CXCIX [35]), should be added to the list.
19. The MSS containing the Boethius commentaries only break down as follows: – InP1: 1; InP2: 3; InC: 7; InH1: 1; InH2: 9; InP1 and 2: 2; InH1 and 2: 1; and one each for InP1+InC; InP2+InH2; InP2+InC; InP1 and 2+InC; InP2+InC+InH2.
20. The texts commented on are present only as short lemmata (underlined or else identified by paraps).
21. See Green-Pedersen 1984, 419–27, for commentaries on Boethius' *De differentiis topicis*. B1 to B3 are commentaries dating back to before 1100, B4 to B12 date back to the first half of the twelfth century, and B13 to B17 to the second half of the century. All are transmitted by twelfth-century manuscripts, with the exception of B2 and B3 (their manuscripts are dated XI/XII cent.) and B6 (XII/XIII cent.). Marenbon 1993, 98–122, contains a 'Working Catalogue of Commentaries on the *Isagoge*, *Categories* and *De interpretatione* from c. 875 to c. 1150'. A 'Supplement', which updates information and extends to commentaries up to 1200, was published in Marenbon 2000. The catalogue of *Categories* commentaries was then revised again in Marenbon 2013a.

- Ebbesen 1993, 148–73, contains a ‘List of Latin Commentaries on the *Sophistici elenchi* and Treatises *De fallaciis*, c. 1125–1300’. Unpublished catalogues of commentaries on *De divisione*, *De syllogismis categoricis*, and *De syllogismis hypotheticis* have been drawn by Yukio Iwakuma.
22. See Marenbon 1993, 85–92; Marenbon 1997, 31–2; Marenbon 2013a, 141–3.
 23. For instance, the *Supplementa Notularum super Topica Boethii*, in Orleans, Bibl. mun. 266, pp. 194b–204b (Green-Pedersen 1974 and 1977).
 24. See Hunt 1948; Iwakuma 1993, 1999, 94; 2008, 50–1; Marenbon 1997, 92–3; Mews 2005, 97–8.
 25. *P3* (f. 215ra: ‘*Rabanus super Por.*’, note added in the upper margin) and *H11* (f. 225rb: ‘*Rabanus super Terencium*’) are attributed to Rabanus in BnF lat. 13368, but the attribution is deemed unacceptable. *C27* is attributed to a *Ros.*, probably Roscelin, in the only manuscript Milan, Bibl. Cap. Ambros. M2, f. 1r (‘*Incipiunt Ros. Glossulae categoricarum, quae auree gemme uocantur*’); again, the attribution is questionable (see Marenbon 2013, 150). An attribution to Joscelin of Soissons is found in Orleans, Bibl. mun. 266, p. 149a, rubric: ‘*Notule de diuisionibus secundum mag. Gosl.*’ (*D2*). ‘*Glose super Porphyrium a magistro W. collecte*’ in Erfurt, Universitätsbibl. Dep. Erf. Cod. Amplon. 8° 5, f. 1r (*P13*) may refer to the act of collecting, rather than authoring, the glosses.
 26. Each *Logica ‘Ingredientibus’* commentary is attributed to Abelard: *P10* in Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana M 63 sup., f. 15vb, rubric: ‘*Pretri (!) Abaelardi Palatini edicio super Porphyrium explici*’ (attribution repeated by a different hand on f. 1r, upper margin: ‘*Incipiunt G<lose> secundum magistrum Petr<um> Abaelard<um> super Porphyrium*’); *C10* in Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana M 63 sup., f. 43vb (copyist’s hand): ‘*Expliciunt G<losse> M<agistri> Petri Abaelardi super predicamenta Aristotelis*’ (as in *P10*, repeated by a different hand on f. 16r, upper margin, but some letters have now been trimmed away: ‘*Incipiunt G<lose> m<agistri> p<etri> a<baelard>i super predicamenta Aristotelis*’); *H8* in Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana M 63 sup., in a hand different to the copyist’s both on f. 44r, upper margin (‘*Incipiunt G<losae> secundum m<agistrum> Petrum Abaelardum super librum peryarmenias*’) and f. 72r, right margin (‘*Expliciunt G<lose> m<agistri> Petri Abaelardi super librum peryarm<enias>*’); *B12* in BnF lat. 7493, f. 168r, rubric: ‘*Petri Abailardi super Topica glossae incipiuntur felici <h>omine*’ (also repeated in the upper margin of the same page by a later hand).
 27. *P12* (*Logica ‘Nostrorum Petitioni Sociorum’*), now considered an Abelardian commentary rather than Abelard’s, is attributed to him in the only manuscript (Lunel, Bibl. mun. 6, f. 8ra, rubric: ‘*Incipiunt Glosule magistri P. Baelardi super [a.m. Porphyrium]*’). *H4*, *D7*, and *P5* are all attributed to Abelard in their manuscript, BnF lat. 13368, by a hand different from the copyist’s (f. 128r, upper margin, partially damaged: ‘*Petri Abae. < . . . > Summi Peripatetici edi < . . . > Perihermenias*’; f. 146, upper margin: ‘*Petri Abaelardi iuniori<s> Palatini summi peripatetici de diuisionibus incipit*’; f. 156ra: ‘*Petri Abaelardi I. P. S. P. editio super Porphyrium*’), but the case for dis-attribution has been made (Martin; Cameron).

28. See the catalogues of commentaries mentioned in n. 21: B-commentaries are listed by Niels Green-Pedersen; P- C- and H-commentaries by John Marenbon; SE-commentaries by Sten Ebbesen, and D- SC- SH-commentaries by Yukio Iwakuma.
29. Green-Pedersen 1984, 418–27. One of the two copies of *B12* is, in fact, a one-page fragment and, interestingly, it follows one of the three copies of *B8*.
30. See later in this chapter and Jacobi 2011.
31. Poirrel 2011.
32. Iwakuma 1999, 101–22.
33. To mark the similarity existing among these texts, Yukio Iwakuma calls *C7*, *C14*, and the four *C8* manuscripts the ‘*C8-complex*’: see Iwakuma, 2003, 2009, 89–91, 2003; Marenbon 2013a, 146–8, 159–60.
34. See Rosier-Catach 2011, xii–xvi.
35. And, as mentioned, in another version in BnF lat. 17813 (= *C7*).
36. In addition, Paris, Bibl. de l’Arsenal 910 transmits a fragment of *B12*, a commentary also found in BnF lat. 7493.
37. For instance, the Abelardian *Logica ‘Nostrorum Petitioni Sociorum’* (*Pr12*) and commentary *SCr* on Boethius’ *De syllogismis categoricis* are written by the same hand in Lunel, Bibl. mun. 6. Though small, this manuscript, probably from southern France, has wide margins, one gold-decorated initial, smaller red and yellow initials, and rubrics. BnF lat. 17813 is also a homogeneous manuscript. Written in rather elegant handwriting, the text is widely spaced and there are a few phyto- or zoomorphic initials (Figure 12.2). Padua, Bibl. Universitaria 2087 lacks decoration of any kind, but it is homogeneous and its handwriting is clear and professional. In general, homogeneous manuscripts tend to be of higher quality than composite manuscripts.
38. See also Ebbesen 1993, 145.
39. To give just one example, f. 71r in BAV Reg. lat. 230 measures 148 mm × 228 mm and is written in two columns of approximately 53 mm × 19 mm containing sixty lines each. This means that almost three lines of text are crammed into a height of one centimetre. Thanks to abbreviations and the size of the handwriting, the page contains almost 1,800 words. Similar measurements are found throughout the whole logical section of this composite manuscript, ff. 41r–87v.
40. See Gumbert 1989, 1999, 2004; Munk Olsen 1998; Kwakkel 2002, 2012.
41. See *Catalogue général*, 398–405.
42. A detailed description is found in Minio-Paluello 1958, xli–xlvi.
43. I owe this information to an unpublished description by Yukio Iwakuma.
44. See Iwakuma 2008, 45–7.
45. On booklets, see Robinson 1980; Hanna 1986; Gillespie 2011.
46. See Kwakkel 2012, 72.
47. A passage in the *Vita prima Gosvini* throws light on the way in which commentaries were copied within twelfth-century schools. It mentions a commentary on Priscian’s *Institutiones* (probably the so-called *Glosulae in Priscianum*), written by a famous grammarian of the time and sought by

everybody, so that master Azo gave his student Goswin a quaternion at a time for the copy (the task was then actually accomplished by Goswin's brother, a quicker copyist): see Grondeux 2009, 886–90.

48. As suggested by Rosier-Catach 2011, xxiii–xxiv.
49. Marenbon 2013, 151–2. Views (rather than writings, which can be the product of more than one person) are attributed to a certain *magister*.
50. See Mews 1985, 92–3, 127–8; possibly *De intellectibus* is a surviving part of it: cf. Marenbon 1997, 50–1.
51. See John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon* III. 4 (115: 10–116: 23); cf. De Rijk 1967, 167–70, who cites this passage.
52. These are the *Introductiones dialecticae*, attributed in their explicit to 'Wilgelmum', in ÖNB lat. 2499 and the *Introductiones dialecticae artis secundum magistrum G. Paganellum* in El Escorial, Real Bibl. E. IV. 24 (ed. Iwakuma 1993; on whether they are the work of William of Champeaux, see Jacobi 2011, 263–7).
53. See n. 42 above.
54. See Minio-Paluello 1958, I. xiii–xviii.
55. Occasional passages in texts from the time give a glimpse of what happened, such as that cited in n. 47.

*The Classical Revival**Irene O'Daly*

In characterising the Long Twelfth Century as a period of 'renaissance', Charles Homer Haskins placed considerable emphasis on the role played by the revival of classical texts, a revival that he argued 'stood for a harmonious and balanced type of culture in which literature and logic both had their place, but which was hostile to the professional and technical spirit that triumphed in the new universities'.¹ As Haskins admitted and others have asserted further, this revival of classical learning was hardly unique to the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, and was preceded by another period of interest in Latin texts – what has been termed the 'Carolingian Renaissance'.² However, the relative impact of the twelfth-century revival is enhanced due to the number of manuscripts that has survived, high in comparison with those of previous centuries.³ While Haskins tended to romanticise the extent to which medieval scholars such as John of Salisbury (ca. 1120–80) could be seen as epitomising a 'renaissance' in learning, the increase in the number of surviving Latin classical texts from the period speaks of a growing interest in their content.⁴ The Latin classics are the focus of this treatment, as they were the nexus of classical study for much of the period and provide the best basis for longitudinal comparison. They offered a major resource for the learning of Latin, both at the level of basic pedagogy and in the attainment of advanced argumentative and expressive skills, such as the cultivation of the *ars dictaminis*, useful for medieval students who were increasingly destined for administrative careers in religious and secular chanceries.

Birger Munk Olsen has attested that the 'classics were produced, like all other books, according to the nature of the text and the destination of the manuscript'; that is, that the factors that dictate how a copy of a classical text was made were the same as those that affect any other book.⁵ A twelfth-century classical manuscript should look much the same as any other manuscript of the period, by this reading. However,

the very features that Munk Olsen pointed out, while universal aspects of manuscript production, are also those that serve to make every manuscript an individual artefact; as Zetzel asserts, ‘*how* a book is copied is directly related to *why* it is copied’.⁶ To examine, then, what the classics looked like in the Middle Ages, we must turn to the manuscripts themselves and understand them within their immediate, ever-changing contexts of production and use, and how these affected their material makeup. Furthermore, we must recognise that the classics were textually flexible in this period; they were pillaged for excerpt collections, accreted glosses and other paratextual accompaniments, and even became the source of new texts in the form of commentaries. This chapter first interrogates the content of the classical curriculum in the Long Twelfth Century, before considering three dynamics of interaction with texts – compilation, accretion and commentary – with a view towards investigating how the reception of the classics was shaped by the form and function of the manuscripts that were their carriers.

The Classics: Texts and Contexts

As Munk Olsen’s survey of the surviving Latin classical manuscripts of the Middle Ages demonstrates, texts varied in their popularity, with some manuscripts surviving in many copies, and some in few.⁷ In part, this was influenced by the role of texts in teaching. Teaching of the liberal arts depended, at least in its most idealised incarnation, on the knowledge of a range of texts, many of which were classical. Thus, the *Ars lectoria* of Aimeric of Angoulême, written in 1086, compares classical writers to types of metal – gold, silver and lead or tin. The ‘golden’ authors (*‘apud Gentiles sunt libri autentici, hoc est aurei’*) are Terence, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Sallust, Lucan, Statius, Juvenal and Persius. Those classed as ‘silver’ (*‘in subgradiuo genere, hoc est argenteo’*) are Plautus, Ennius, Cicero, Varro, Boethius, Donatus, Priscian, Servius and *Plato translatus* – that is, the *Timaieus* as translated by Calcidius. Aimeric comments that were this work in its original language it would count as ‘gold’, but that it is degraded by being in translation. ‘Catunculus’ (author of the *Disticha Catonis*) and ‘Homerulus’ (author of the *Ilias Latina*) are part of the ‘*communi genere*’ or common stock (described elsewhere as of ‘lead’ or of ‘tin’), along with the *Elegies* of Maximianus, and the writings of Avianus and Aesop.⁸ Implicit in Aimeric’s division is a sense of progression, from the basic texts for learning Latin, such as the *Disticha Catonis* – a collection of moral and philosophical maxims dating from the third

century – through texts used for the teaching of grammar (Donatus, Priscian), and rhetoric (Cicero), up to the historians and poets. Aimeric's list may be compared to that found in Conrad of Hirsau's *Dialogus super auctores*, which distinguishes between *auctores maiores* and *minores*, recommending students to progress through the latter (starting with Donatus) before studying the former, as children are weaned from milk on to solid food.⁹ The *auctores maiores* listed by the *magister* in this dialogue include those he explicitly describes as 'Roman', such as Arator, Prudentius, Cicero, Sallust, Boethius, Lucan, Virgil and Horace, but also Ovid, Terence, Juvenal, Persius, Statius and the Latinised Homer.¹⁰

While idealised, certain elements of Aimeric's curriculum merit attention. First, it is interesting that authors we may regard as post-classical, such as Boethius and Priscian, count among Aimeric's list, and Prudentius and Arator among Conrad's; in so doing they point to the breadth of time that the medieval period regarded as 'classical'. Secondly, the authors that Aimeric refers to as 'golden' are among those whose works survive in the greatest number of copies from the eleventh and twelfth centuries.¹¹ The rhetorical works, Cicero's *De inventione* and the pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, although 'silver' in Aimeric's classification, were the most popular classical works in the medieval period, surviving in more than 120 copies apiece. Thirdly, the organisation of Aimeric's list seems to reflect the way in which some texts circulated in manuscript form; thus the authors described as 'tin' often circulate together in loose compilations under the title *Liber Catonianus*, a grouping that would become further popularised (and augmented by the addition of Statius' *Achilleis* and Claudian's *De raptu Proserpinae*) as the '*sex auctores*' during the course of the twelfth century.¹²

Finally, it should be noted that Aimeric's list of classical works appears alongside another list that presents a fourfold division of religious works, again using the metallurgical conceit. Canonical books of the Bible and liturgical works are 'gold'; 'silver' includes the writings of Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome and other patristic fathers; 'tin' represents authors such as Bede, Prudentius and Arator, while the 'lead' category is used for Lives of saints and martyrs.¹³ It must be recollected, therefore, that the study of classics and the liberal arts in the Middle Ages did not take place in isolation, but in conjunction with a comprehensive curriculum of biblical and exegetical study. Thus, in a manuscript of the Bible owned by the abbey of St-Thierry at Reims (Reims, Bibl. mun. 23, f. 25r) dating from the early twelfth century, we find 'Phylosophya' depicted in the initial 'O' of

the opening of Ecclesiasticus: '*Omnis sapientia a Domino Deo est: et cum illo fuit semper, et est ante aevum.*' Personified as a woman enthroned with a halo, she is surrounded by three other figures depicted in half roundels. 'Phisica' holds *grammatica*, *geometria*, *musica* and *astronomia* in her hands; 'Logyca' carries *rethorica* and *dyalectica* [*sic*], while Ethica has the four classical virtues of *iusticia*, *temperantia*, *fortitudo* and *prudencia* emblazoned on her chest. This division, conflating *sapientia* with *philosophia*, departs from the traditional Platonic–Stoic division described by Isidore by substituting grammar for arithmetic under the category of physics, and in so doing incorporates the seven liberal arts into a Christianised philosophical scheme. The inclusion of such an initial in a bible illustrates how the study of the trivial and quadrivial arts was literally embedded in a Christian curriculum. The classics informed the teaching of the liberal arts, but were, in turn, mediated by Christian perspectives and sources.

Idealised accounts of curricula, of the type found in the writings of Aimeric and Conrad, provide an insight into the kind of classical texts that were studied in the medieval period, but not into how they were encountered in a material sense by medieval scholars. At the start of his discussion of the liberal arts in *Sacerdos ad altare accessurus*, Alexander Neckam (1157–1217), teacher at the schools in Oxford and Paris, comments: 'A student who is to be educated in the liberal arts should carry a wax tablet on which anything noteworthy may be written.'¹⁴ A further reference to note-taking in the classroom may be found in Peter of Blois' letter to the archdeacon of Nantes regarding the study practices of his two nephews. Peter bemoans the fact that one of the nephews, William, 'learns dialectic not in books, as is the custom, but from scraps of parchment and quires [*in schedulis et quaternis*]'.¹⁵ These references to tablets, notes and quires suggest that students infrequently owned their copies of classical (or other) texts, but learned from those of the teacher, or from copies belonging to the teaching institution of which they were part.¹⁶ This is the interpretation suggested too by the glosses that such texts accumulated. Although some glosses consisted of excerpts from commentaries, or forwarded new textual interpretations, many simply provided explanations of word meanings and syntax; their relatively facile content implies that one of their primary functions was to provide reference material for teaching use in the classroom.¹⁷ We cannot assume by default that every classical manuscript, glossed or otherwise, was necessarily used in the classroom, however, but must interrogate the codicological and textual features of specific copies of a text to determine its destination and perhaps multiple stages of use.

Codicological Considerations

Munk Olsen's exhaustive survey of surviving copies of classical texts from the ninth to twelfth centuries threw up Sallust's *Historia* some distinctive codicological peculiarities of such manuscripts. One notable aspect is the fact that despite the general move towards the presentation of manuscripts in two columns over the course of the twelfth century, classical prose manuscripts still tended to be produced in 'long lines' – lines that extend across the width of the main textblock.¹⁸ Two factors seem particularly significant – the copying tradition of the text and the size of the manuscript – although others come into play, such as place of origin (notably house style).¹⁹ No single author was copied exclusively in two columns, nor in long lines, although it is notable that the majority of manuscripts of Pliny's *Naturalis historia* (usually in large format) were copied in two or even three columns, while only one manuscript of Sallust's *Jugurtha* and *Catilines* from the twelfth century (CUL li. 6. 20) is in two columns. This would seem to suggest that certain texts or authors were associated with particular layout traditions, an association reinforced by imitative copying. The antiquity of the text could be reinforced by an adherence to its presentation in its oldest copies.²⁰ Oxford, Corpus Christi Coll. 57, a glossed copy of the *Satires* of Juvenal and Persius copied by a scribe associated with Bury St Edmunds in the early twelfth century, measures 385 mm × 300 mm – almost square – imitative of the format preferred in the late antique period.²¹ In fact, imitative copying may also explain copies with a *mise-en-page* that departs from tradition, as is apparent from the manuscript tradition of Caesar's *Wars*. Although the text was usually copied in long lines, four extant copies are in two columns. Of these, BnF lat. 5764 (s. xii²) and ÖNB 95 (s. xii¹) share common textual traits indicating that they were both copied from the same exemplar, now lost.²² Although we cannot be certain of the format of the original lost exemplar of these manuscripts, the likelihood is that it too was in two columns, so the existing copies of it demonstrate how layout decisions persist from manuscript to manuscript; it was easier for a scribe to emulate *mise-en-page*, rather than innovate it.

Size was, no doubt, a further influential factor. A work as long as Pliny's *Naturalis historia* had to be copied on pages of large dimensions to permit the text to be presented in a single volume; the largest exemplar from the twelfth century (Luxembourg, Bibl. nat. 138, provenance Orval) measures 520 mm × 350 mm, with 179 leaves. Large pages seem to have encouraged the use of a multi-column layout, presumably to prevent lines from becoming too long for the perceptual span of the reader, and to

facilitate vertical ocular motion of the reader down the page. Thierry of Chartres' *Heptateuchon*, a compendium of the liberal arts (Chartres, Bibl. mun. 497–8, completed ca. 1150, destroyed in 1944), and Wibald of Corvey's collection of Ciceronian works (Berlin, Staatsbibl. lat. fol. 252, ca. 1150) were also presented in double columns on account of their size. The *Heptateuchon* is recorded as measuring 525 mm × 365 mm, with its two volumes originally containing some 1,400 leaves, while Wibald's volume measures 485 mm × 329 mm.²³ On the other hand, some books were made deliberately narrow, copied in a tall and skinny format, now termed 'holster' or 'register'.²⁴ This format, particularly popular for texts in verse, by its nature precluded the presence of more than one main column of text. A typical example of this type is BAV Pal. lat. 1685, a French twelfth-century copy of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, measuring 227 mm × 110 mm, giving a width/height ratio of 0.48 – particularly skinny, given that the average width/height ratio of books in this period is 0.67–0.72.²⁵ It is likely that scansion was a factor in the selection of this format for verse texts.²⁶ Munk Olsen notes that in five manuscripts of Horace, the lyric poems are copied in two columns, while the hexametric poems are in one, to respond to different verse lengths.²⁷ While two-column verse manuscripts exist, they are rare; in the twelfth century 98 per cent of Lucan manuscripts are in one column, as are 87 per cent of Ovidian manuscripts and 88 per cent of Statius manuscripts.²⁸ Verse texts could have been copied in two columns on broader leaves, but the facility of the single column for highlighting the rhyming structure seems to have led to a preference for a narrow format, a preference that perhaps later became fashion.

The Dynamics of Compilation

These brief observations on the codicological presentation of the classics in the Long Twelfth Century only touch on the diversity of ways in which text, genre and layout could interact. The heterogeneity of the texts in question (varying in length and form), changing fashions in manuscript production, and diverse contexts of use affected the appearance of classical books in this period. To speak in general terms of the 'classics' belies the variety that comprised the corpus, a corpus that includes prose, poetry, instructional texts, epistolary collections and drama. Composite manuscripts of this period, those that contain collections of texts by single or multiple authors, demonstrate how twelfth-century scholars sought to make sense of such heterogeneity by pulling together texts on similar

subjects or in similar textual forms. Compilation is an interpretative act, and affects the way in which classical texts were read and transmitted. At one extreme, the motivation to combine texts resulted in large-scale volumes like the *Heptateuchon*, compiled with a view towards presenting a comprehensive account of the liberal arts – ‘*in unum corpus voluminis*’, as the prologue comments – underpinned by a commitment to the unity of the trivium and quadrivium.²⁹

At the other extreme, we find florilegia, selections of excerpts culled from classical texts, arranged by author or by theme, and deliberately designed to synthesise classical learning.³⁰ The copy of the prose sections of the *Florilegium Gallicum* found in Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal 711, ff. 182–243, a manuscript associated with the School of St-Victor, exemplifies this tradition.³¹ It arranges its material by author and by text, conveying these divisions to the reader by the use of running titles across the top of the page, and further distinguishing the opening of each excerpt by the use of alternating red and blue penwork initials. The text is also apportioned by rubrics referencing the source of the excerpt and, on occasion, its theme. The sections excerpting parts of Cicero's *De inventione*, for example, contain short definitions of eloquence taken from the prologues of books I and II of the text, followed by definitions of the cardinal virtues and their subsidiary types, each individually rubricated (f. 190rv), with titles such as ‘*Quid sit uirtus*’ and ‘*Quid sit fortitudo*’. The purpose of such collections was to isolate aphorisms, whether for contemplation or for educative purposes, and they proved popular even for experienced scholars like John of Salisbury.³² The *Florilegium Angelicum* refers to such accessibility in its preface, commenting that it can always be kept at hand [‘*ut semper ad manum habeas*’].³³ Collections of texts like the *Florilegium Gallicum* and the *Florilegium Angelicum* demonstrate an expedient approach to classical learning, while the popularity of such collections can be measured by the fact that some seventy-five florilegia manuscripts survive from the twelfth century or earlier.³⁴

Compilations give an insight into the way in which an author was read or perceived in the Middle Ages. A case in point is Seneca the Younger, a classical author who was treated with particular regard in the twelfth century due to his alleged association with St Paul. Jerome's *Vita Senecae* (*De viris illustribus*, XII), often included among the preambles to collections of Senecan writings, referred to the ‘letters between him and Paul which are read by many’, contributing to the medieval image of Seneca as a saintly sage.³⁵ The apocryphal correspondence between Seneca and Paul, consisting of fourteen short letters, circulated from the fourth century on.

Two other works were also commonly attributed to Seneca: *Formula vitae honestae* by the sixth-century bishop Martin of Braga, which circulated as *De quattuor virtutibus* in the Middle Ages, and *De remediis fortuitorum*, a short dialogue between Sensus and Ratio. It is likely that both of these works were extracted from genuine, now lost works of Seneca, but as Reynolds memorably wrote, 'Seneca's fame grew fat on works which he had never written.'³⁶ Other patterns of transmission emerged within the corpus; *De clementia* and *De beneficiis* frequently circulated hand in hand, reflecting their common themes of generosity and kindness and perhaps also reflecting their value as 'mirrors for princes'. The pairing of these texts may also result from the form of their ninth-century archetype, BAV Pal. lat. 1547, which preserves both texts together.³⁷

Approximately forty single-volume compilations of Seneca's writings survive from the twelfth century, indicative of a desire to collect his known works.³⁸ A typical example of such a single-author compilation is Yale, Beinecke Libr. Marston 45, a manuscript from the Cistercian monastery of Igny, near Reims, dating from the third quarter of the twelfth century – one of four such compilations from the Cistercian milieu.³⁹ It is written in two columns, a layout typical of Cistercian manuscripts of the period, with plain decoration of alternating red, green and blue initials. The manuscript contains Jerome's *Vita Senecae* (f. 1va), the pseudo-Senecan letters to Paul (ff. 1va–2vb), the *Epitaphium Senecae* (f. 3ra), the first eighty-five *Epistulae morales* (ff. 3ra–79rb), excerpts from *De beneficiis* (ff. 79va–99vb) and *De clementia* (ff. 100ra–103rb), *Formula vitae honestae* (ff. 103rb–105va), *De remediis fortuitorum* (ff. 105va–107va) and a set of sentences attributed to Publius Syrus and Seneca (f. 107vb). The final leaves (ff. 107vb–109rb) contain *excerpta* from Claudian and *De tribus dicendi generibus* by William of St-Thierry, although these texts are written in a distinct, slightly later hand than the rest of the manuscript, and are not mentioned in the contemporary contents list found on f. 1r. This collection of 110 leaves, measuring 294 mm × 204 mm, demonstrates how thematic association, traditions of attribution and alleged authorial repute motivated compilatory practices, and in turn, embedded Seneca's works within a particular textual context, and an increasingly popular manuscript form – the collection.

A final influential form of compilation is the association of works that are linked by subject. One example from the field of rhetoric demonstrates this trend in action. Cicero's *De inventione* and the pseudo-Ciceronian *Rhetorica ad Herennium* frequently circulated together, and were combined with a variety of other texts, including contemporary and late antique commentaries. A common companion item was the fourth book

of Boethius' *De differentiis topicis*, found in seventeen manuscripts dating from the twelfth century containing both rhetorical texts attributed to Cicero. York Minster XVI. M. 6, produced ca. 1150 and associated with St Mary-in-the-Fields, Leicester, contains *De inventione* and *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, and concludes with the fourth book of *De differentiis topicis*, written over seven leaves (ff. 113r–120r). In Bamberg, Staatsbibl. Class. 21, a twelfth-century French manuscript containing *De inventione* and *Rhetorica ad Herennium* – copied in independent codicological units but designed to be used together – the excerpt from *De differentiis topicis* appears at the conclusion of the part of the manuscript containing *De inventione* (ff. 71r–80r). In other cases where *De inventione* and *Rhetorica ad Herennium* have been copied as a single production unit, the extract from *De differentiis topicis* often appears sandwiched between the two texts. For example, in Leiden, Universiteitsbibl. VLQ 103, a French manuscript from the second half of the century, the text is found on ff. 46r–52v, and in BL Harley 3509, another manuscript from the second half of the century from France or England, the text appears on ff. 44r–48v. As is clear from the details of the foliation of these manuscripts, the excerpt is relatively short, less than twenty pages long in its most recent translation.⁴⁰ This was of major practical advantage for copyists; it could be accommodated easily alongside copies of *De inventione* and *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, without increasing the size of the manuscript as a whole by more than a single extra quire, at most. While the subject matter is the principal feature dictating the inclusion of this late antique text alongside the rhetorical works attributed to Cicero, its length was also a contributing factor that facilitated its excerption and circulation.

The Dynamics of Accretion: Textual and Visual Additions

Compilation affected the kind of works that classical texts were read alongside. However, the texts themselves were also open to change in this period. Classical texts accumulated a variety of paratextual additions, such as glosses, introductions (*accessus*) and illustrated elements. This flexibility must be borne in mind when considering the materiality of such texts in the Middle Ages; any treatment must take into account how the format of a text was adapted to incorporate such additions. Lucan's *Pharsalia* serves as a case in point. One of the most popular texts in the Middle Ages, it survives, according to Munk Olsen's estimation, in more than thirty copies from the eleventh century, and in more than 100 copies from the twelfth century.⁴¹ Leiden, Universiteitsbibl. BUR Q 1,

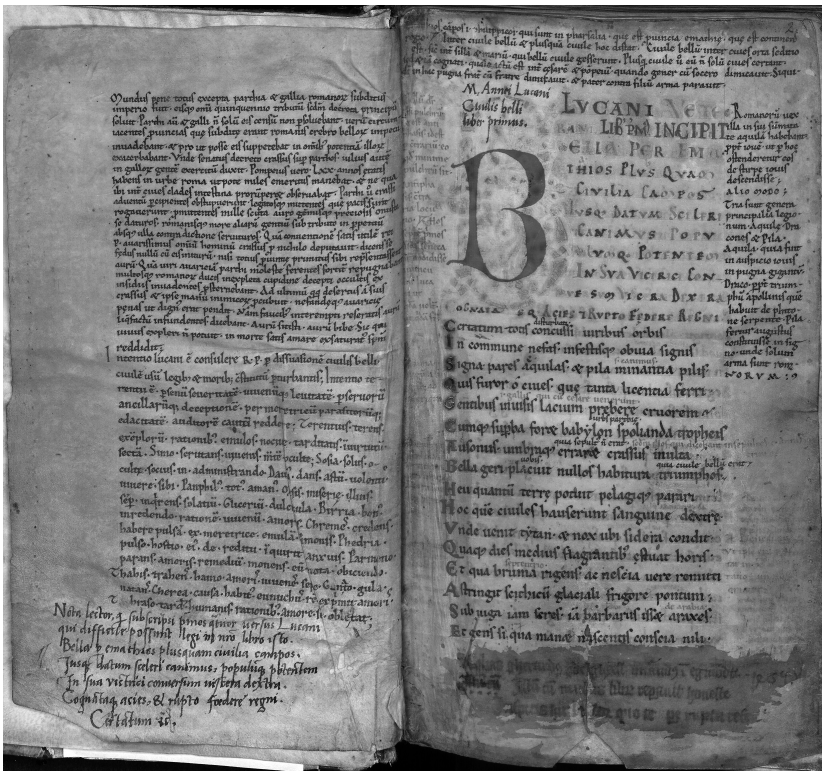


Figure 13.1 Lucan's *Pharsalia*, Egmond, just after 1050, with later additions and glosses. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, BUR Q 1, ff. 1v–2r.

a copy of the text dating from early in the second half of the eleventh century (provenance Egmond) contains glosses and additions made over the following 100 years which demonstrate how these accretive processes worked, and how the manuscript itself was shaped by, and accommodated in turn, such an apparatus (Figure 13.1).

The text itself is written in a single column; the first letter of each line is rubricated, while the opening lines of the text on f. 2r are written in alternating letters of black and red. The book is narrow, measuring 276 mm × 162 mm, giving a width/height ratio of 0.58. Glosses appear around the text in all four margins written in a small script, at the rate of approximately two lines of gloss for each one of the main text. The glosses, linked to the text with a system of alphabetic and symbolic *signes-de-renvoi*,

are added in two layers by two distinct contemporaneous hands; the second glossing hand has a more rounded aspect than the first, and is in a lighter ink. This second hand is often forced to work around the glosses provided by the first glossator, as seen on f. 7r, where the second layer of gloss is enclosed in a sinuous curved line to distinguish it from the first. On occasion, both hands gloss the same word or passage in different ways, further demonstrating that they represent two stages of reflection on the text. One function of the glosses is to explain terms that would have been unfamiliar to the reader. So, the mention of the dwellers by the river *Araxes* [I, 19] on f. 1r is glossed '*de arabia*'; the reference to *Iulia* on f. 4r [I, 113] is glossed '*uxor pompeii, filia cęsarıs*'. Another function is to offer synonyms for words used or syntactical aid – perhaps to facilitate classroom use. So on f. 6v the lines '*stridor lituum clangorque tubarum | non pia concinuit cum rauco classica cornu*' [I, 237–8] are glossed in two fashions, with '*non pia*' explained in an interlinear gloss as '*impia*', while a tie mark links it to the word '*classica*' to demonstrate that these words are linked – it is an 'impious fanfare'. A third function is to give additional information about the intention or content of the text; thus on f. 1r, the first glossing hand has provided in the upper margin a brief note on the difference between civil war [*ciuile bellum*] and war that is 'more than civil' [*plusquam ciuile*] – these definitions are taken from Isidore's *Etymologiae* [XVIII. 2–4], where the same examples of each type are given. The second glossing hand has also added a note in the inner margin claiming that the first seven lines of the poem are by Seneca, expressing a common belief. The broad margins and aerated space between the lines of text facilitate the insertion of a variety of marginal and interlinear glosses, and were intended to be used for this purpose.⁴²

In addition to these interlinear and marginal notations, further additions are made by a number of hands on the flyleaf of the text and at its conclusion. The flyleaf (f. 1rv), a singleton added to the first quaternion, contains a number of texts intended to act as an *accessus* – a brief historical or biographical prologue, or discussion of the intention of the author – to the text.⁴³ The main scribe of the text has added two short texts (f. 1r), a note on the auguries of the conflict and the commonly circulated version of Lucan's epitaph.⁴⁴ The presence of the hand of the main scribe on this flyleaf demonstrates that it was a contemporary addition to the volume, serving the dual purpose of protecting the illuminated opening initial and consciously providing a space for additions. The third text on this page, the account of Lucan's life written by Suetonius, is in a hand that does not appear elsewhere in the manuscript; also dating from the second half of the

eleventh century, it exhibits some documentary features, such as distinctive long descenders.⁴⁵ On the verso, the two glossing hands have added further texts. The first is a historical note in the hand of the first glossator.⁴⁶ The second opens with the *intentio* of Lucan, but is followed immediately by another *intentio*, that of Terence, with a brief list of characters (and their characteristics) from *Andria* and *Eunuchus*.⁴⁷ The hand that has added this, the second glossing hand, also provides an extensive note at the end of the manuscript, wrapping around the text on ff. 150v–151r, and continuing into the (formerly) blank f. 151v. This is an extract from book VI of Orosius' *Adversus paganos*. Taken as a whole, these annotations augment the reader's knowledge of Lucan by providing basic bibliographic information, but also general contextual information on classical Rome. Furthermore, the additions demonstrate how a text like *Pharsalia* could become, in Christopher Baswell's words, a 'pedagogical node' around which the teaching of Latin, as well as of classical culture and history, could take place.⁴⁸ The text was a potential repository of knowledge about the classical world that could be expanded as glossators saw fit, and so offers material evidence of engagement from the second half of the eleventh century on with the revived classical corpus.

As noted, one of the functions of the *accessus* is its role in situating a text within its classical context. Another, albeit more unusual intervention that permitted the 'classicismation' of the classical text for the medieval reader was the addition of illustrations or historiated initials.⁴⁹ Florence, Bibl. Laurenz. Plut. 45. 2, a twelfth-century Italian miscellany containing among other works the apocryphal letters of Paul and Seneca, Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae* and *Bellum Jugurthinum*, Cicero's *De senectute*, *De amicitia* and *In Catilinam* and some commentaries, contains three pen and wash illustrations among the texts. The first, placed at the conclusion of *Bellum Catilinae*, is a battle scene, with combatants dressed in chain mail, their uplifted spears bisecting the concluding words of the text (f. 25r). The next two are more explicitly referential of the classical context of the works. At the beginning of *De senectute* (f. 57v) is an illustration of Cicero and Cato seated beneath two porticos. Cicero, on the left, holds an open book on which is written the opening words of *De senectute* ['*O Tite si quid adiuuero*'], while Cato, with a rounded back, rests his chin on his hand, listening intently. Following the prologue to *De amicitia* (f. 70r), another illustration depicts Scaevola, Laelius and Gaius Fannius in dialogue in the garden, with Scaevola sitting 'according to his custom on a semi-circular garden bench' [*De amicitia*, I. 2], while Cicero is sheltered under a portico to one side, writing on a roll. The clothing and architecture

are deliberately archaised, while both illustrations convey the immediacy of Cicero's compositional role to the medieval reader by depicting him in the dynamic acts of recording or reading.

While these two illustrations bear a direct relationship to the texts that follow, two images appended to companion volumes of *De inventione* and *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, probably made in Poitiers in the mid-century, now Bodl. Libr. Barlow 40 and Lucca, Bibl. Statale 1405, reference instead what was known of Cicero as a historical figure. Barlow 40, f. 11 (Figure 13.2), shows Cicero listening to the arguments of Cato and Caesar on the fate of Catiline and his cohort; he holds a book on which are written words from *In Catilinam* [*Ad mortem Catilina duci*: I.1.2]. Meanwhile Lucca 1405 (f. 11) depicts Cicero arguing with Sallust; Cicero holds open the pseudo-Ciceronian *Invective against Sallust*, while Sallust holds open the pseudo-Sallustian *Invective against Cicero*. As the rhetorical manuals contain rules on argumentation, these images augment the content of the text by giving examples derived from a classical milieu of argumentation-in-process, as well as enhancing the reader's biographical knowledge of Cicero in a fashion similar to the textual *accessus*. Functioning as 'visual prologues', such illustrations demonstrate a desire to make the authors and interlocutors of classical texts immediate to the medieval audience. In their imaginative depictions of clothing and settings, they evoke the classical world.⁵⁰

The Dynamics of Commentary

We have already seen how classical manuscripts came to acquire glosses and scholia during this period. Further evidence of the place of the classics in the Long Twelfth Century is their capacity to inspire new texts. Cases in point are commentaries on the two rhetorical works associated with Cicero – *De inventione* and *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. The most popular classical works in the twelfth century, they inspired the composition of new texts, building on an antique tradition typified by the commentaries of Victorinus and Grillius. John Ward has established that of forty-five twelfth-century manuscripts containing commentaries on these texts, only six contain copies of late antique works, with the rest being copies of new compositions, so demonstrating an increased interest in medieval interpretations.⁵¹ In some instances, text and commentary were produced as companion pieces. Two manuscripts now in the library of York Minster, X.VI. M. 6 and X.VI. M. 7, made ca. 1150, serve as an example. As already described, one contains the texts of *De inventione* and *Rhetorica ad*

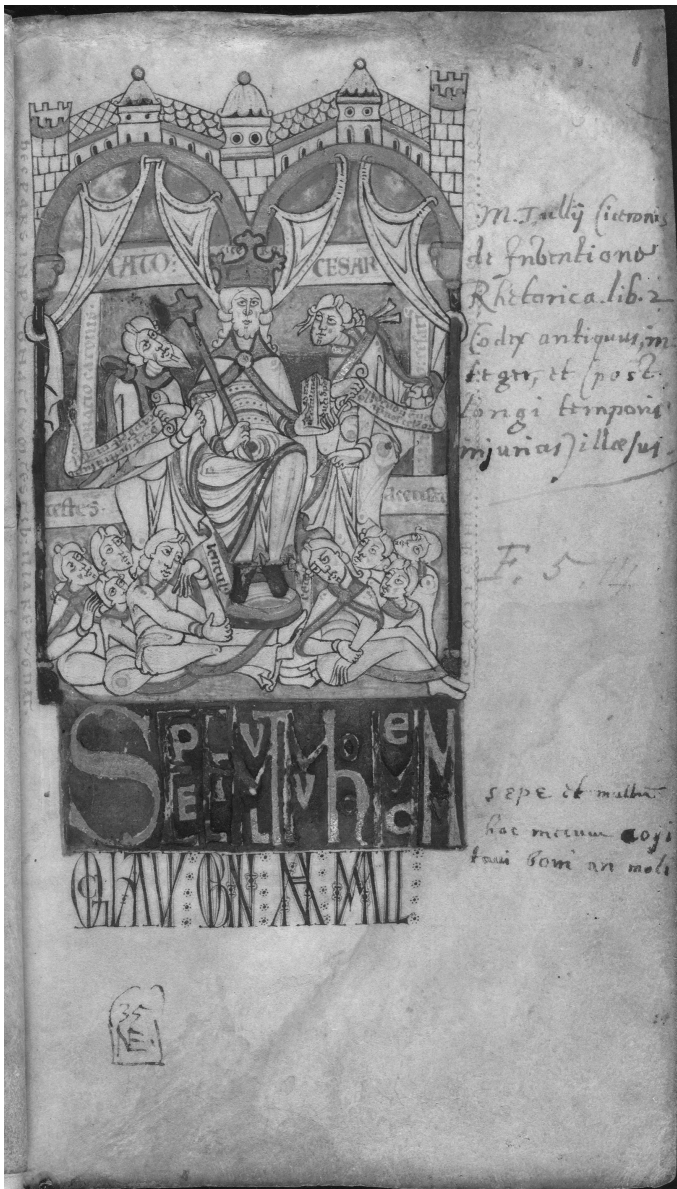


Figure 13.2 Cicero listens to the arguments of Cato and Caesar on the fate of Catiline and his cohort. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 40, f. 1r.

Herennium, along with book IV of Boethius' *De differentiis topicis*, while the other contains a number of rhetorical commentaries, attributed to Manegold of Lautenbach and William of Champeaux. These manuscripts were produced contemporaneously and have a shared provenance (the Augustinian abbey of St Mary-in-the-Fields in Leicester). The commentaries are distinguished from the main text by having a different mise-en-page; they are in two columns, while the main text is in one. The changing layout conveys the status of the commentary as a new composition – textually and visually distinct from the main texts – which were, per tradition, presented in long lines.

Other commentaries also convey a story through their format. Leiden, Universiteitsbibl. BPL 189, contains an extract from the commentary by Thierry of Chartres (written ca. 1140) on *De inventione*, copied in the late twelfth century in France. Written in a cramped hand on a booklet of six leaves, with more than fifty lines per 120 mm × 70 mm page, the selection from the commentary (ff. 42r–45v, *Commentarius super libros de inuentione* I. 1. 1–I. 5. 7) is followed by a brief extract from the text of *De inventione* itself (ff. 46–47r, *De inventione* I. 1. 1–I. 1. 9). The parchment is of poor quality. Folia 45–46 have holes that the scribe has written around, while f. 46 has clearly been cut from the edge of a parchment sheet, with a curved lacuna in the lower corner, the edge of which shows signs of stretching and has not effectively taken the ink (notably on the verso). Despite the comparatively unassuming character of the writing support, the text itself is carefully executed. One penwork initial has been added on f. 42r, while spaces for further, unexecuted initials, have been left on f. 46rv. It is likely that the copy was made for personal use, as some marginal annotations suggest the interaction of the scribe with the text. Keywords in the hand of the scribe facilitate navigation through the thicket of the dense text, and certain points within the text are also emphasised through the addition of small marginal faces; in two instances (ff. 44r, 45r) we find faces alongside discussions of '*calliditas*', the cunning that is the opposite of wisdom (Figure 8.2). In one of these, f. 44r, the face is deliberately disapproving, with a downturned mouth, drawing attention to the discussion in the text of the difference between wisdom and cunning. In the margin of Cicero's text itself (f. 46r), a further face appears alongside Cicero's musings on the aid that wisdom gives eloquence in ending wars and facilitating good governance (*De inventione* I.1). Considering the extract from the *De inventione* selected – the opening prologue that deals with the origin of eloquence and the role of the 'wise man' in the polity – the parts emphasised by these faces show a particular concern with the morality of the text and, by extension, in the lessons the

reader may expect to learn from it. The size, support and nature of the textual interventions point to the status of this manuscript as an object for personal consumption of the classics; it demonstrates one of the range of material forms that classical scholarship took in this period.

Another manuscript of Thierry's commentary, now BL Arundel 348, provides a further sense of the context within which the classics were read. Dating from the late twelfth century, and written in the north of France, it is now incomplete (ff. 102r–179v, *Commentarius super libros de inuentione*, I. 1. 1–II. 2. 170). Several small drawings have been added to the text by one of its scribes. Most of them appear alongside catchwords in the lower margins at the end of quires (see ff. 109v, 117v, 131v), although several drawings do not correspond to the quire divisions. Some are humorous riffs on the text; a drawing of a crocodile-like animal appears alongside the part of the text that refers to beasts (*bestiae*) while a drawing of a man's face accompanies the catchwords '*magni viri studuerunt*'.⁵² Another drawing, found in the lower margin below the opening to the second prologue to Book I of Thierry's commentary (f. 128r), shows a female figure holding a knife-like object in her outstretched hand, accompanied by a small boy holding an open book. I suggest that this figure is a personification of the art of Grammar, drawing on the iconographic tradition of the fifth-century writer Martianus Capella, who described Grammar in *On the Marriage of Mercury and Philology* as a woman who bears a 'pruning knife with a sharp point with which she could prune the faults of pronunciation in children'.⁵³ The prologue refers to the state of teaching in the schools; Fame in league with Envy, criticises Thierry: 'She [Fame] allows him rhetoric or grammar, as if for argument's sake, in order to snatch away dialectic, allowing him anything rather than dialectic. She alleges now his immoral life-style, now his negligence in studying, now his long-winded interpretations. Finally, when all else fails, she objects that he lectures to advanced students, so that he holds the younger ones back, or rather, corrupts them in such a way that they cannot make any progress.'⁵⁴ The use of personification in the prologue, which is clearly intended to satirise those who resent the progress of logical teaching in the schools, seems to have prompted the scribe to sketch this drawing of Grammar. Martianus' text, which survives in more than 240 manuscripts from the ninth century on, was very popular, and its classification of the sciences was particularly influential. The iconographic attributes of the liberal arts, such as the knife held by Grammar or the snake held by Dialectic, were parts of a visual vocabulary that would have been highly accessible to the medieval reader, as apparent

from their contemporaneous employment on the sculptures of the liberal arts found on the Royal Portal of Chartres cathedral. While this illustration adds little to the interpretation of Thierry's commentary, its presence in this manuscript brings together three important strands of the history of the reception of the classical tradition in the Long Twelfth Century, namely, the study of classical texts within the broader context of the trivium and quadrivium, the reshaping of classical texts by contemporary commentators, such as Thierry of Chartres, and the influence on classical reception of authors of the late antique and early Christian periods, such as Martianus Capella.

Conclusion

Considering the heterogeneity of the classical corpus, it is a challenge, and perhaps a mistake, to draw overarching conclusions regarding the history of its production and reception in the Middle Ages. To do so would simplify the evidence excessively, and obscure the variety of genres and contexts within which such texts were read. The twelfth-century cases examined throughout this chapter provide a number of snapshots of moments of production and use, and in so doing demonstrate how established practices, such as compilation, glossing and illustration, shaped classical manuscripts for reception, both textually and physically. Although the texts were old, new practices, such as the formation of large-scale florilegia, the composition of commentary and *accessus* texts and the formalisation of glossing traditions, renewed and reshaped their content. The process appears to have been affected by practical concerns, by a sensitivity to the demands of the genre of the text and by considerations of the intellectual environment within which the text is used, whether communal or individual. Looking in depth at a few manuscripts has shown clearly that while patterns and trends exist, such as the desire to collect works by author or theme or the pedagogical practices of annotating and augmenting the text, each manuscript has an individual character, and often a unique set of contents. Thus, when considering the nature of classical scholarship in this period, we must not ask simply 'what was read?' but also 'in what form and format was it read?' – whether a scholar encountered a classical text whole or through excerpts, standing alone or embedded in a textual context of commentaries and associated literature, in a large manuscript or a small booklet. Only through such an interrogation will the real character of the twelfth-century classical renaissance be revealed.

Notes

1. Haskins, *Renaissance*, 99.
2. Brown 1994; Contreni 1995.
3. Munk Olsen, *Auteurs classiques*; Reynolds 1983; Reynolds and Wilson 1991.
4. Jaeger 2003, 1181–3.
5. Munk Olsen 1996, 17.
6. Kwakkel 2015; Zetzel 2005, 153.
7. Munk Olsen 1996, 17; Munk Olsen, *Auteurs classiques*, 4/2. 33.
8. Reijnders 1972, 170.
9. Huygens 1970, 79.
10. Ibid., 95–122.
11. Munk Olsen, *Auteurs classiques*, 4/2. 33.
12. Hunt 1991, 66–70.
13. Reijnders 1972, 169–70.
14. Copeland and Sluiter 2009, 536.
15. *Ep.* 101: *PL* 207. 312.
16. See Chapter 5 of the present volume.
17. Reynolds 1996; Wieland 1999.
18. On the changing mise-en-page of manuscripts in this period, see Bozzolo and Ornato 1983, 318–29; Derolez, *Gothic*, 37, 58; Ker, *English MSS*, 42; Tahkokallio 2015, 143.
19. Munk Olsen 1995, 103–4.
20. Lowe 1925, 207.
21. Thomson 2011, 29–30. Thomson notes that Oxford, Merton Coll. 291, Martianus Capella, is copied by the same hand in a similar square format.
22. Brown 1972, 33, 44–5. The two other copies in two columns (Leiden, Universiteitsbibl. BPL 38D and BnF lat. 5783) are later copies of BnF lat. 5764.
23. Burnett 1984, 142.
24. Kwakkel 2015, 71–2; Munk Olsen, *Auteurs classiques*, 4/2. 158–9.
25. Bozzolo and Ornato 1983, 287–310.
26. Parkes, *Pause and Effect*, 97–114.
27. Munk Olsen 1996, 14.
28. Munk Olsen, *Auteurs classiques*, 4/2. 162.
29. Copeland and Sluiter 2009, 441.
30. Munk Olsen 1979, 1980; Rouse and Rouse 1979, 3–42.
31. <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b52501503x>
32. Martin 1984, 184–5.
33. Rouse and Rouse, *Authentic Witnesses*, 129.
34. Munk Olsen, *Auteurs classiques*, 2. 837–77.
35. Ker 2009, 187–91.
36. Reynolds 1965, 112.
37. Reynolds 1983, 363–4.
38. Munk Olsen 1996, 13.

39. <http://brbl-dl.library.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3592235>; Munk Olsen 1995, 104–5.
40. Stump 1978, 79–95.
41. Munk Olsen 1982–2014, 4/2. 33.
42. Note the addition of neumes to VIII. 88–98 on f. 106r, again facilitated by the wide line spacing.
43. Hunt 1948; Minnis 1988, 9–39; Quain 1945.
44. 'Philosophus iste de hortatur romanos habe ciuliem discor/diam pluribus modis quia multae et innumerabiles cedet et/alia infinita mala in de praece-dunt et pluribus signis ante/conflictum et in ipso conflictu manifestatur omnibus diis displicere'; 'Corduba me genuit rapuit Nero prelia dixi ... haec vere sapiet dictio, quae feriet.'
45. 'Prima ingenii experimenta in Neronis laudibus ... diligenter sed inepte quoque.'
46. 'Mundus pene totus excepta Parthia et Gallia ... exsaturatus spiritum reddidit.'
47. 'Intentio Lucani est consulere r.p. per dissuasionem ciuilis belli, ciuilem usum legibus et moribus constitutum perturbantis. Intentio Terentii est per senum seueritatem iuuenumque leuitatem ... – auditorem cautum reddere'; 'Terentius. terens exemplorum. rationibus. emulos. nociue ... – ... Thraso tardus. humanis. rationibus. amore. se oblec<c>tat' Cf. other examples of such lists of characters in Munk Olsen, *Auteurs classiques*, 4/1. 111.
48. Baswell 1999, 136.
49. Munk Olsen, *Auteurs classiques*, 4/2. 175–205.
50. Sears 2002, 61.
51. Ward 2003, 178.
52. Thierry of Chartres, 68–9.
53. Martianus Capella, 65.
54. Dronke 1988, 363. Thierry of Chartres, 107–8.

*Reading the Sciences**Charles Burnett*

This chapter examines common features of the codicology and mise-en-page of Latin scientific manuscripts in the Middle Ages, paying particular attention to features which appear to have been taken over from Arabic and Greek models, and noting variations with respect to the readership of the manuscripts (monastery, cathedral school, medical school, private library, university). The manuscripts surveyed will range in subject matter from mathematics (including astronomy and astrology) and medicine (including veterinary science), Peripatetic natural science and metaphysics (the embryonic *Corpus vetustius*), to alchemy and magic.

The Introduction of New Sciences

The first evidence for the introduction of new scientific texts into Western Europe dates from the late tenth century, when texts on the astrolabe, astrology and the abacus were first written in Latin. The texts on the astrolabe consist of descriptions of both its construction and use. While occasional passages can be identified in Arabic texts on the astrolabe, the majority of the material in these earliest texts appears to be notes that were meant to be read with a master, and above all, an astrolabe at hand.¹ These manuscripts, therefore, exhibit two notable features: 1) pages of Arabic texts in transliteration with the equivalent Latin words written immediately above the Arabic words;² 2) accurate depictions of a real astrolabe and its parts, even to the point of representing the Arabic alphanumerical notation and the name of the Arabic maker.³ Most of the astrological texts were devoted to a particular kind of astrology, of which the distinguishing features were the transference of the letters of the names of the clients into Arabic or Hebrew letters, and the use of the twenty-eight lunar mansions alongside or in place of the signs of the zodiac.⁴ The manuscripts of these texts are distinguished by the presence of tables (of letter-number equivalents, of Arabic and Hebrew equivalents for the letters of the Roman

alphabet) and of *rotae* – of the signs of the zodiac or the lunar mansions (or both together) – often with the constellations depicted as asterisms. The earliest abacus texts are associated with Gerbert d'Aurillac (d. 1003 as Pope Sylvester II). In this case, the centrepiece was the depiction of the abacus itself, which is a board consisting of twenty-seven columns, one for each decimal place, with columns grouped three by three, and Hindu-Arabic numerals used to number the individual columns or each set of three columns.⁵ A large manuscript format was necessary for depicting the complete abacus table. In most cases reduced versions were substituted, but one large sheet of parchment with the abacus markings on it written at the monastery of Echternach ca. 1000 survives; this is likely to have been a complete prepared sheep's skin and is large enough for the *apices* or counters to be disposed on it for carrying out calculations.⁶

Gerbert was well known for using instruments in his teaching of the quadrivium. The abacus and astrolabe texts joined those on arithmetic, geometry and astronomy – Boethius' *De institutione arithmetica* and *De institutione musica*, and the portion of Boethius' translation of Euclid's *Elements* that had been incorporated into late classical texts on land-measuring (those of the *agrimensores* or *gromatici*).⁷ Diagrams and instruments were essential for all these texts: the depictions of numerical relations in the *De institutione arithmetica* and of proportions in the *De institutione musica*, the rhythmomachy board and its pieces for arithmetic, the chess board and its pieces for geometry and the monochord for music.⁸ One can imagine the scene of unbound manuscript pages with brief notes on instrument construction and use, parchment being used for making instruments (for instance the abacus table or *volvelli* for demonstrating astrological and astronomical doctrine, and astrolabes) and spheres, hemispheres and monochords occurring together in the classroom.

The copying, revising and refining of these texts on the quadrivium continued into the eleventh century, in which Lotharingia (including Liège, Trier and Echternach), Paris, Chartres, Orléans and Reichenau were particularly important centres. From Fulbert, bishop of Chartres (1006–28), we have a set of notes on the stars depicted on the *rete* of an astrolabe, and a poem which he composed using these notes.⁹ On the abacus sheet from Echternach was added a life-size diagram of the monochord.¹⁰

The Scientific Manuscripts of the Long Twelfth Century

This was the scene at the opening of the Long Twelfth Century. From a scientific point of view, it could be said to have begun when, for the first

time, a large number of Greek and Arabic works on the science of medicine began to be translated in Salerno and Monte Cassino. Alfano, archbishop of Salerno (1058–87), himself translated Nemeseius' *On the Nature of Man* from Greek, but encouraged a doctor from Qairouan, Constantine the African, to translate or adapt a large number of medical texts from Arabic into Latin. The most important of these was the 'Royal Book' of 'Ali ibn al-'Abbās al-Majūsī, which Constantine used as the basis for his *Pantegni*, a work of ten books on the theory of medicine and ten on its practice. Since Constantine became a monk of the Benedictine mother house of Monte Cassino and collaborated with other monks of the monastery, he had the service of a well-equipped scriptorium. Here scribes wrote in both the Beneventan and the Caroline scripts, and illustrators were at hand to ensure the beauty of the manuscripts. Moreover, the important position of Monte Cassino within the Order, and its Europe-wide network, ensured that manuscripts produced there could quickly reach other areas of Europe.¹¹

None of the Arabic manuscripts that Constantine brought with him from Qairouan has been identified, and the only surviving manuscripts of his translations that might possibly have been made by or under the supervision of Constantine himself are Monte Cassino 225 and The Hague, Koninklijke Bibl. 73 J 6.¹² From the similarity in format of many of the early Latin copies of the works, and from extant Arabic examples, one can only hazard a guess at how the Arabic *Vorlage* could have influenced the mise-en-page of these Latin medical manuscripts. In the case of the *Pantegni*, it can be observed that the numbered chapter titles are given at the beginning of each book, and these numbers are included within the books themselves, to enable the reader to find his/her way round the work with facility. While this is not unprecedented in the Latin tradition, it is a conspicuous feature of Arabic scientific texts, in which the numbering was usually written out in full (avoiding the ambiguity that could arise from the use of numerical symbols). The medical texts translated or adapted by Constantine did not include diagrams, nor did their comprehension require the presence of a teacher; rather, the transmission of this knowledge was strictly textual. This means that textual accuracy and clear articulation were important desiderata of the transmission process, explaining why, in at least one manuscript containing the *Pantegni* (BL Add. 22719), a whole repertoire of punctuation, colour-coding, majuscles and minuscules was used to articulate the text.¹³

The twelfth century itself saw a proliferation of manuscripts with scientific content. In some twelfth-century catalogues or booklists, separate

sections were assigned to the sciences. For example, in the catalogue of books of Waltham Abbey, added to a bible in the late twelfth century, the medical texts are listed together at the end, under the title *De physica* (ten books, mainly translations by Constantine), while St-Bertin had six 'libri medicinales' (without specifying authors or titles).¹⁴ In the twelfth-century catalogue of the library of St Peter's Salzburg, books for scholars were listed separately from theological books. Under the heading 'Hi sunt scolares libri istius ecclesie' are sixty-five books of classical authors and of scientific works, including 'Heremanus . . . super astrolabium' (no. 36), an 'expositio super artem Euclidis' (no. 42) and an 'Alchorismus' (no. 63).¹⁵ Among the 102 manuscripts listed in the twelfth-century catalogue of St-Amand, aside from books on computus, rhythmomachy, the abacus, a 'Sphera de quinque zonis' (no. 14), 'de arte architectonica et geometria' (no. 51), two copies of Boethius' *De institutione arithmetica* (nos. 20 and 21) and Plato's *Timaeus* (no. 68), twenty-three books on medicine (with titles and authors specified) are listed, i.e. nearly a quarter of the whole booklist.¹⁶ All these libraries were in Benedictine abbeys, like Monte Cassino.

New translations from Greek and Arabic had contributed to these books. The Greek manuscripts from which Burgundio of Pisa (ca. 1110–93), a papal notary who translated theological and scientific works from Greek,¹⁷ made some of his translations can be identified; they include the annotations of Burgundio and his Greek collaborator.¹⁸ The translations from Greek of Euclid's *Elements* in BnF lat. 7373 and Ptolemy's *Almagest* in BAV Pal. lat. 1371, retain the 'Eastern forms' of the Hindu-Arabic numerals which were used in the corresponding Greek manuscripts.¹⁹ In the case of the twelfth-century translations of the *Elements* made from Arabic, whose manuscripts far outnumber those made from the Greek, different formats can be observed.²⁰ The earliest manuscripts of the earliest version ('Adelard I') retain not only Arabic words in the text or the margin but also long lines, and no differentiation between the enunciations and the proofs. Twelfth-century manuscripts of the Adelard II version, in which the text was adapted to a Latin audience, show a greater variety: either the enunciations are in the main text and the proofs are in the margin or the enunciations are in a larger script than the proofs, which may precede or follow them. Adelard's text has been made to conform to the pattern usual in contemporary theological and legal texts, in which the lemmata are written in a larger script than the comment. The main difference is the inevitable presence of the geometrical figures, whether for proofs or for constructions. A tradition stemming from Boethius' partial translation of Euclid retained the proof or construction

lines on the figures, even when they were lacking in the text, thus providing (perhaps) a mnemonic by which the reader could recall the stages in the proof or construction which he had presumably learnt from his teacher. But the deterioration of the figures in the course of copying and the breaks in the teaching tradition meant that figures were no longer sufficient without words. So the combination of figures and their corresponding explanations became the norm in twelfth-century versions of Euclid's *Elements* (copies of the text without accompanying figures are rarely found, even though the text of Euclid gives all the information the reader needs to construct his own figures).²¹

Arabic–Latin Translations Issuing from the Crusader States, Sicily and Spain

The three areas in which Latin scientific texts were produced from Arabic models in the twelfth century were the Iberian Peninsula, Sicily with southern Italy, and the Crusader States. In Antioch in the 1120s–40s a second, more literal translation of the *Royal Book* of 'Alī ibn al-'Abbās al-Majūsī was made by Stephen the Philosopher – who also composed a cosmology based on a book by Ibn al-Haytham – and a translation of the *Almagest* was made.²² Stephen's translation of the *Royal Book* (*Regalis dispositio*) retains the names of the scribes and the date of copying at the end of each book, and includes the most complete trilingual glossary of *materia medica* up to that date. The glossary was not taken from a single source but was compiled by Stephen himself, using a known Greek glossary to Dioscorides' *De re medica* and an Arabic glossary which has not been identified, to which he added his own Latin translations where he could. The glossary covers eighteen pages in the oldest manuscript (the mid-twelfth-century Berlin, Staatsbibl. lat. fol. 74), but the copyist clearly had problems in keeping equivalent words on one line, and slanting ink ligatures have been used to connect the words which have wandered from their proper places.²³ In the case of the *Almagest* translation (of which only one fourteenth-century manuscript survives, containing only the first four books), the tables have been omitted, either because they can be constructed from the information given in the text or because they may have been written in a separate fascicle (the same could be surmised for a set of missing figures referred to in Hugo of Santalla's translation of 'Jafar', *On Rains*²⁴). The diagrams, however, are fully present, but many of them are reversed in respect to the original, perhaps because the translator, in reversing the line of script from Arabic to Latin, considered it

appropriate to reverse the diagrams too. Most particular to this manuscript is the translator's use of an unparalleled system of numeration by which the Latin letters of the alphabet are used for digits in the same way as the Greek, Arabic and Hebrew letters are used, but for the tens, a range of little signs attached to the digit-letter must originally have been devised, even though most of them have been omitted or misunderstood by the copyist. Such an invention for numerals must have been known or taught in the scientific community to which the translator belonged, but because of the restricted size or duration of this community, its significance was quickly lost. This is a hazard of scientific innovation.²⁵

In Sicily, the presence of three languages, Arabic, Latin and Greek, also encouraged the writing of equivalent texts in these languages in parallel columns, for example in a psalter, written shortly before 1153 (BL Harley 5786).²⁶ The contiguity of Arabic culture also accounts for the precocious use of paper, in a codex combining a scientific text of Arabic origin (a portion of the *Book of the Three Judges*) with Germanicus' *Aratea*, bound into BL Arundel 268, and apparently written in southern Italy ca. 1200.²⁷

It was in the Iberian Peninsula, however, that the greatest number of scientific manuscripts was produced, thanks to the translating enterprises of Hermann of Carinthia, Robert of Ketton, Hugo of Santalla and Plato of Tivoli in the north-east, and those of John of Seville, Gerard of Cremona and Dominicus Gundissalinus in Toledo. Among these, John of Seville's translations of texts mainly on astrology are the earliest. In his translation of al-Qabīṣī's *Introduction to Astrology*, we can see a variety of formats, probably representing different stages of revision of the text on the part of the translator and other scholars who were able to consult the Arabic text directly. One manuscript (BAV Reg. lat. 1285 of the late twelfth century) distinguishes the words which have no equivalent in the original Arabic by adding 'va ... cat' at each end of the additional words and proposes alternative translations of the Arabic text in the margin.²⁸ In another translation – Abū Ma'shar's *On the Great Conjunctions* – horoscopic charts are included, but in the format of the chart one version follows one Arabic manuscript, another version follows another.²⁹

The most prolific twelfth-century Toledan translators, Dominicus Gundissalinus (ca. 1110–90) and Gerard of Cremona (1114–87), were evidently based in the cathedral itself (Dominicus was an archdeacon resident in Toledo; Gerard was a canon). But there is no evidence for official copying and 'publication' of the manuscripts in the cathedral. Rather, the earliest manuscripts of their translations seem to have been copied by students who visited Toledo from other centres. Dominicus translated

texts on cosmology and psychology, which were unillustrated. Gerard translated texts on logic, geometry, astronomy, Peripatetic philosophy, medicine, alchemy, geomancy and the calendar, many of which were illustrated with diagrams. The carefully drawn illustrations of surgical instruments in Gerard's translation of Abu'l-Qāsim al-Zahrāwī's *Surgery* were a model for subsequent depictions.³⁰ The layout of the church calendar (*Liber Anothe*) diverges from the traditional layout for calendars in that it includes depictions of the asterisms of the twenty-eight lunar mansions presented in boxes, and a 'Liber de accidentibus alfel' consists entirely of a table of the moon in each of the signs of the zodiac, with a short set of instructions.³¹ Two manuscripts from the Veneto, written in a single hand at the beginning of the thirteenth century, BnF lat. 9335 and BAV Rossi 579, contain the most authoritative texts of Gerard's translations. Both are written in two columns, with diagrams incorporated within the text area and spilling into the margins. Numerous marginal glosses, evidently by Gerard himself, are attached to the text using a large repertoire of symbols. Many of these glosses give the Latin translation of a word left in Arabic in the text, or vice versa. Gerard's insistence on literal word-for-word translations of the Arabic text meant that anything not belonging to the text (such as alternative translations or explanations of the meaning) had to be relegated to the margin.³² The fact that the two most authoritative manuscripts of Gerard's works originate from northern Italy gives credence to the story that Gerard's 'body and books' were taken back to Cremona after his death, where the books were available for reading and copying in the church of Santa Lucia. According to the Cremonese chronicler Gasapino Antegnati, writing shortly after 1314, 'these books, for the most part, are extant today in the sacristy of this church (Santa Lucia) in the same form as master Gerard translated them in his own hand on paper,³³ although very many are lost because certain people, having borrowed them to make copies, did not wish to return them, and no one remembered to ask for them back'.³⁴

Booklets

One of Gerard's pupils, Daniel of Morley, returned to England with a 'precious multitude of books'.³⁵ The very portability of these books suggests that they were booklets rather than large manuscripts that might have been intended for the library of a monastery or the incipient Oxford University. In fact, we find several examples of scientific works being copied into unbound booklets; sometimes a quire (usually eight folios)

would be devoted to each short text. These booklets were often bound later into larger manuscript volumes. Examples of this are the small, octavo-size twelfth-century copies of Adelard's *Quaestiones naturales*, Eton Coll. 161, and London, Wellcome Libr. 4, which contain no other text, and consist of thirty-seven folios and twenty-four folios respectively. Another example is the medical manuscripts of 'Magister Herebertus medicus', who donated his 'books' to the cathedral of Durham in the mid-twelfth century: twenty-six books are named; several of them were included in one volume (the phrase 'in uno volumine' follows the mention of groups of 'libri'), so that the whole donation consisted of only five or six manuscripts. One of these is now Cambridge, Jesus Coll. Q. D. 2(44), which bears the inscription 'ex dono magistri Herberti medici'.³⁶

It was clearly an advantage for someone engaged in practical science to be able to carry a textbook around with him. The thirteenth-century MS Brussels, Bibl. royale 8486-91 includes a small booklet of cures for sick hawks which, as well as being eminently portable, has what looks like blood stains on one of its pages. Later, doctors would carry around their 'girdle-books' which depicted without any accompanying text the signs of the zodiac and other astrological features such as the 'zodiac-man'.³⁷ But already in the twelfth century scraps of parchment with horoscopes on them have survived, left by the astrologer himself.³⁸

Compendia

On the other hand, scientific works could be copied into large compendia. We have Arabic precedents of manuscripts written in one hand containing a large, but coherent, collection of scientific and/or philosophical works, such as Istanbul, Ayasofya 4832 (ca. 1050), containing sixty-five separate texts on astronomy, arithmetic, geometry and meteorology,³⁹ and Damascus, Zahiriyya MS 4871 (written between 1155 and 1162 in Baghdad), containing forty-three texts of Hellenistic and Arabic philosophers.⁴⁰ Such manuscripts are referred to as *majmū'āt* (literally 'collections').⁴¹ Such large compendia apparently did not appear in the West before the late thirteenth century. But the same spirit must have underlain the collection of twenty-seven separate works on geometry, astronomy, arithmetic and algebra translated by Gerard of Cremona, which survives in BnF lat. 9335 and BAV Rossi 579, both written by the same scribe and with identical layout.⁴² A similar case, again involving two manuscripts written by one scribe, is the collection of astrological works translated by Hugo of Santalla (fl.

1145), apparently copied at St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, before the end of the twelfth century.⁴³ Other translations of Hugo, including that of the alchemists' *Tabula Smaragdina* and a text on geomancy, survive in twelfth-century manuscripts.⁴⁴ Later collections of translations of magical texts (Florence, Bibl. naz. II. III. 214, and Darmstadt, Landesbibl. 1410) and alchemical texts (the first half of Palermo, Bibl. comunale 4 Qq. A.10), most of which are anonymous, may reflect earlier collections which are now lost. The compilation of five magical books into one volume is specifically mentioned in one of the texts in the Florence manuscript: Solomon, *De arte eutonica et ydaica* (*De quatuor anulis*), f. 28v: 'Sciendum quod isti quinque libri artis magice in unum volumen debent componi et sunt.vii. quaterni de vii. vitulis nominatis' ('Know that these five books of the magical art must be included in one volume, and [for this] there are seven quaternions made from the seven calves named'); the ceremony for preparing this parchment is then mentioned.

BnF lat. 9335 includes a note on the order in which mathematical works should be read, which does not, however, exactly correspond to the order of those same works in the manuscript.⁴⁵ A more thoughtful attempt to put scientific texts in a rational order can be observed in the *Heptateuchon* of Thierry, chancellor of Chartres Cathedral, composed in the early 1140s (Chartres, Bibl. mun. 497 and 498).⁴⁶ Thierry's aim was to include within the covers of two volumes all the texts necessary for the seven liberal arts (hence the title '*Heptateuchon*', implying a secular equivalent to the biblical *Pentateuch*). The second volume (498⁴⁷) includes the older texts of Boethius (*De institutione arithmetica*, *De institutione musica* and '*geometry*'), Martianus Capella (*De Nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiae*, Book 7, on arithmetic), several texts from the agrimensoral tradition, Firmicus Maternus' *Mathesis* and the abacus (including Arabic numerals), but also the newly translated texts of Euclid's *Elements* and al-Khwārizmī's astronomical tables. That these manuscripts were intended as repositories of learning for the cathedral library, and not for practical use, is indicated both by their large size (430 mm × 365 mm) and by the fact that the text of Euclid does not include the proofs and diagrams.

The next step, after translating and collecting scientific texts, was to anthologise them. This was the procedure of Hermann of Carinthia in respect to his Arabic authorities on weather forecasting.⁴⁸ Other examples are *The Book of the Nine Judges* (an anthology of chapters taken from nine different Arabic astrological authorities, and arranged by subject matter) compiled by Hugo of Santalla (probably with the help of Hermann of

Carinthia),⁴⁹ and Robert of Cricklade's *Defloratio* of Pliny's *Natural History*, written for Henry II of England.⁵⁰

The Mobility of Manuscripts

Thierry of Chartres incorporated into his *Heptateuchon* new texts – of Euclid and al-Khwarizmi – that had arrived in Chartres probably through the agency of their translator, Adelard of Bath. Thierry's own pupil, Hermann of Carinthia, advertised to his teacher further texts translated by his colleague Robert of Ketton and himself, probably in the hope that they would also be included in the cathedral library; in fact, we have more evidence for new scientific texts being introduced into Chartres in the mid-twelfth century than for any other European centre.⁵¹ There are several examples of manuscripts travelling. Henricus Aristippus brought back a copy of Ptolemy's *Almagest* from Constantinople to Palermo on an embassy for William I, king of Sicily, shortly before 1160.⁵² Petrus Alfonsi, when he travelled to northern Europe after his baptism in Huesca in 1106, brought books with him,⁵³ as did Constantine the African, when he travelled from Qairouan to Palermo (allegedly losing some manuscripts in a shipwreck on Cape Palinurus). An anonymous translator endures great hardship to travel from Salerno to Palermo to read Aristippus' Greek manuscript, and Aristippus in turn tries to persuade another scholar, whom he names 'Roboratus' (perhaps Robert of Selby), not to return to England but to enjoy the libraries of Sicily, where he will find manuscripts of Heron's *Mechanica*, Euclid's *Optica*, philosophical works of Anaxagoras, Aristotle, Themistius and Plutarch and plenty of medical texts.⁵⁴

I end this short survey of scientific books by looking in detail at five scientific manuscripts from the twelfth century. This collection of case studies shows how some of the points raised separately in the survey can be illustrated in combination in a single manuscript. It will also give an idea of the variety of manuscripts containing scientific works. In certain cases, it will demonstrate the relationship between a scientist and a manuscript that contains his work or that he copied.

1) Bodl. Libr. Auct. F. 1. 9 is a manuscript from Worcester Cathedral Priory, written in a single hand in the 1140s. It consists of mathematical texts composed between the early eleventh century and the 1120s to the 1140s. As befits a monastic scriptorium, the manuscript is written very carefully, with concern not only for appearance but also for the accuracy of the text (by subpunction, erasure and/or interlinear additions or

replacements, all performed with care not to disfigure the text). One of the scholars who must have had some role in compiling the volume, Walcher, prior of Malvern (d. 1135), a Benedictine house close to Worcester, included a work of his own, in which he emphasises the necessity of using a ruler (*regula*) and dividers (*circinus*) to make the necessary diagrams illustrating the orbits of the sun and the moon.⁵⁵ Foreign words (mostly Arabic, but a few Greek), Roman numerals and fraction symbols, and letters in the text referring to corresponding letters on the geometrical figures are highlighted in red.⁵⁶ Arabic numerals occur in this manuscript, but only in the tables, which are framed in yellow and green with the grid lines in red.⁵⁷ The margins are wide, and most of the texts are separated by blank pages, half pages or columns. In the star table on f. 78v all the Arabic names of the stars are in red, asterisms are included, and many alternative names are given in small black script above the rubricated names or, if there is not room, in the margin.⁵⁸

2) Cambridge, Trinity Coll. R.15.16 is a small manuscript from the mid- to late twelfth century consisting entirely of works on arithmetic. The classic work, Boethius' *De institutione arithmetica*, has been beautifully written in a fine Caroline hand, with lavish use of red and green paint and immaculately drawn diagrams depicting the arithmetical, geometric and harmonic proportions and other arithmetical consonances. But the mathematician who owned it (perhaps the 'Testardus' whose name appears in the top margin of f. 1r⁵⁹) added glosses within the manuscript and notes on the flyleaves at each end. These notes are necessarily written in a much more condensed way than the main text, since the scribe evidently wished to fit in as much information as possible. At the beginning he writes an introduction to arithmetic in the context of the seven liberal arts, which stops abruptly (f. 3r), after which the page is blank. But we are evidently catching the author in the act since he adds some notes (in the bottom margin of f. 2v) indicating what he wants to add about music. He also provides rules for playing the arithmetical game of rhythmomachy, and draws a rhythmomachy board at the end of the manuscript (f. 60v) nicely mirroring the chessboard at the beginning (f. 1r), both being, as it were, templates for the real thing. In addition there are jottings using Roman and Arabic numerals, and a key to the Arabic numerals, which suggests that they are not yet familiar (Figure 14.1).⁶⁰ Beside 'Testardus', other personal names, Radulfus and <H?>osatus, indicate that the book was probably used in the classroom or by individual scholars before it ended up in the library of the Franciscans of Coventry.

3) BL Add. 22719 is a copy of the *Pantegni* of Constantine the African. This is a monastic manuscript which belonged to the Priory of St Nicolas in Exeter but whose script resembles that of manuscripts written at Bath.⁶¹ It appears to have been copied in the second or third decade of the twelfth century. As with the manuscript on arithmetic, so here we have a principal text to which others have been added. The principal text is Constantine the African's *Pantegni* (the whole of the *Theorica* and two and a half of the ten books of the *Practica*, as is common in early manuscripts of the *Pantegni*), but in all the interstices between the books and the works other texts have been included: before the *Theorica* there occurs a Christian spell and glossary of medical terms (largely Greek). Between the *Theorica* and *Practica* occurs a text on the elements taken from the Arabic version of Nemesius' *De natura hominis* and some recipes reflecting local health lore (with words in Anglo-Saxon). Between the second and the partial ninth book of the *Practica* *Pantegni* is a short work on the humours and more recipes. After Book IX there come 'quedam phisica' covering the use of magical remedies (Qusṭā ibn Lūqā's *De physicis ligaturis*), metals, foods and weights. These additions have been written with the same care as the main text of the *Pantegni*. The scribe uses a repertoire of colours and diacritical marks to articulate the text in the manuscript, as can be observed on a page of the text on the elements. One can distinguish a descending hierarchy of articulation: rubricated initial capitals, discrete green paraphs, half-rubricated capitals, a green dot over the first word of a subsection, rubricated lower case letters, *punctus versus* and *punctus medius*; the super-script green dots also pick out 'aqua' and 'aer' as two of the four elements.

4) Bodl. Libr. Digby 51 contains works of astronomy and astrology, mostly translated from Arabic. One of its scribes knew Arabic – he copies out a diagram of the four corners of the world, writing Arabic letters on it. He has supervised the work of at least four other scribes and has filled in lacunae and made corrections. There is great economy of space, the works written in two tightly packed columns. But a wide margin has been left at the bottom of each page, which is sometimes filled with illustrations (as on ff. 14v, 15r, 81v). Slips of the same thin vellum used throughout the manuscript have been added between ff. 19 and 21, and ff. 23 and 25, on which the scribe of the main text has made some additions to the text.⁶²

The manuscript consists entirely of works written in north-east Spain in the mid-twelfth century, apparently in the circle of Plato of Tivoli, by authors who evidently knew each other: one work of Rudolph of Bruges, Hermann of Carinthia's student, one work of Robert of Ketton, dedicated

to the same Hermann of Carinthia, one work of Abraham Ibn Ezra, two translations usually attributed to John of Seville, but one of which (Māshā'allāh, *On Eclipses*) ends with a prayer for Plato of Tivoli, and five translations of Plato of Tivoli himself. Binding these texts together are the dedications by Rudolph of Bruges and Plato of Tivoli respectively to 'John David', who can plausibly be identified with a Jewish mathematician whom Abraham Ibn Ezra also addressed in one of his astrological works.⁶³ It is tempting to think of the supervising scribe as Plato of Tivoli himself.

5) Bodl. Libr. Selden supra 24 is a collection of booklets of Peripatetic natural science, together with a work brought to England from Toledo by Daniel of Morley, a student of Gerard of Cremona. The first booklet (ff. 1–40) consists of the *Metaphysica vetustissima*, translated by James of Venice, and the *Ethica vetus* (Books 2–3). The second booklet (ff. 41–63) contains the *De generatione et corruptione* translated by Burgundio of Pisa. The third booklet (ff. 64–75) includes only Pseudo-Avicenna, *De caelo et mundo* translated from Arabic by Dominicus Gundissalinus and Johannes Hispanus, while the fourth booklet (ff. 76–84) has only the *Liber de causis*, also translated from Arabic, and associated in this manuscript with the Jewish collaborator of Gundissalinus, Ibn Daud ('Metaphisica Avendauth'). The final booklet (ff. 84–117) also consists of one work: 'Libri Metheororum', comprising the four books of Aristotle's *Meteorologica* with Avicenna's chapters on the formation of stones and minerals as its appendix. The booklets were put together at St Albans Abbey in the early thirteenth century, evidently because of the similarity of their subject matter. The St Albans *ex libris* appears at the beginning of the collection, where there is a list of contents, and at the beginning of the final booklet. Other booklets would once have been bound in the same collection, since there are gaps in the quire numbers, and some works in the list of contents are missing. Each of the booklets is written in a different hand, apparently at different times between the late twelfth and the early thirteenth centuries, and at different places. The first two booklets contain works translated directly from Greek; the third and fourth contain works translated from Arabic, and the fifth a combination of books translated from Arabic and Greek.⁶⁴ The booklets, however, share certain formal features. Spaces are left for notes. In the case of the *Metaphysica* the scribe has left space in the margins according to the quantity of glosses to be inserted, indicating that they were already in the exemplar.⁶⁵ Most notes are preceded by a paraph. Except in the case of *De generatione et corruptione* and the

Meteora, titles do not appear at the heads of the individual texts.⁶⁶ 'Methaphisica' has been added in dry point on f. 14v as has 'secundus liber' on f. 27v. On the same folio, along the extreme left hand margin (now partly cut off) are the words 'incipit primus liber de ethice'.⁶⁷ Some works have their title at the end of the text (f. 83v: 'Explicit metaphisica auendauth' – in a different hand from the text; f. 117r: 'completus est liber metheororum aristotilis cuius tres libros . . .' etc.). This is just the kind of collection out of which would arise the *Corpus Vetustius* used for the teaching of philosophy in the incipient European universities.

Conclusion

These five case studies range from the second decade of the twelfth century until the turn of the thirteenth century. They give examples of collections of texts on medicine, arithmetic, astrology and astronomy, and natural philosophy, copied in north-east Spain, in southern Italy and in the western and eastern regions of England. Each manuscript tells its own story. As we have seen, the innovatory nature of the texts often gives rise to innovation in format and layout. Scientific manuscripts cannot be regarded as forming a genre of their own, independent of other manuscripts being written in the same contexts. But they do offer a richness and variety which makes them most interesting objects to study.

Notes

1. Borelli 2008, 21–2.
2. Millàs Vallicrosa, 175, 290–1 and Plate IX = BnF lat. 11248, eleventh cent., ff. 18v–19r; Schramm et al. 2006–7, 300 (MS Bern, Burgerbibl. 196, early eleventh cent., f. 8v).
3. Kunitzsch 1998 (BnF lat. 7412, mid-eleventh century).
4. These are fully documented and edited in Juste 2007.
5. Folkerts 1996.
6. This single large piece of parchment (probably originally 680 mm × 440 mm), now Luxembourg, Bibl. nat. 770, is illustrated and described in Burnett 2002. For 680 mm × 480 mm as the size of an average skin, see Gumbert 1993, 236.
7. Full manuscript descriptions are given in Toneatto 1994–5.
8. See the description of Cambridge, Trinity Coll. R.15.16 in what follows.
9. Behrends 1976, 260–1.
10. Falmagne 2009, 2. 376–7.
11. See Chapter 15 of this volume.

12. Newton 1998, 367 and pl. 135, and Kwakkel and Newton, in press.
13. See later in this chapter.
14. *CBMLC* 6, 439; Becker, *Catalogi*, no. 77.
15. *Ibid.*, no. 115.
16. *Ibid.*, no. 114. For statistics on the number of *extant manuscripts* on medicine, the science of the stars and natural science, see, respectively, Chapter 15 of this volume, Juste and Burnett 2016 and *AL*.
17. Classen 1974.
18. Vuillemin-Diem and Rashed 1997.
19. Burnett 2002, 252–3.
20. The two earliest versions were probably both the work of Adelard of Bath (ca. 1080–1150), and are conventionally known as ‘Adelard I’ and ‘Adelard II’.
21. Folkerts 1970, 220–7; Burnett 2013.
22. For comparisons between Stephen’s translation and that of Constantine the African, see Jacquart 1994, 83–9. Dirk Grupe’s editions and English translations of Stephen the Philosopher’s cosmology (*Liber Mamonis*) and the *Almagest* (translated by a certain ‘Abd al-Masīh of Winchester’) will be published shortly.
23. Burnett 2013a: see illustration on p. 76.
24. Burnett 2007, 162. In the case of *On Rains*, one of these illustrations is found transmitted separately from the text in Cambrai, Médiathèque mun. 168, f. 106v: see Burnett 2004, 79–81.
25. This numeral system is discussed in Grupe’s edition.
26. Burnett 2003–4.
27. Reeve 1980, 511–5; Burnett 2002, 257.
28. Burnett 2001.
29. Burnett 2007, 169, 174–5.
30. Irblich 1981.
31. See Juste 2015, 187 and pl. II.
32. E.g., ‘id est alfabet’ in the margin explaining ‘almuagemmati’ in the text: Schupp 2005, 20.
33. This is plausible, given the production of paper in Islamic Spain from the early twelfth century (especially in Jativa), and the use of paper, for example, in the manuscript of the Leiden Arabic-Latin Glossary, which was probably written in Toledo in 1175: see Koningsveld 1977 and BL Arundel 268.
34. See Leino and Burnett 2003, 286: ‘Qui libri ut plurimum extant hodie in segrestia [sacristy] dicte ecclesie sicuti prenominatus magister Girardus propria manu ipsos translatauit in cartis bombicinis, licet quamplurimi sint deperditi ex eo quod aliqui ad exemplandum commodati eos restituere noluerunt et propter oblivionem non fuerunt requisiti.’
35. ‘cum pretiosa multitudo librorum in Angliam veni’: Daniel of Morley, *Philosophia*, 212 (preface).
36. Robinson 1980. ‘In uno volumine’ could plausibly refer to a loose wrapper.
37. Carey 2004.

38. E.g., two scrappy pieces of parchment, now bound into BL Royal App. 85, as ff. 1–2, on which ten horoscopes have been drawn, dating from 1135 until 1160: North 1987.
39. Sezgin 2010.
40. Ragep and Kennedy 1981.
41. For this genre in general, see Endress 2001.
42. The two manuscripts are the same size (365 mm × 240 mm), use the same format for catchwords, and consist of quires made up of five bifolia rather than the more usual four bifolia.
43. Bodl. Libr. Digby 159 and Cambridge, Gonville and Caius Coll. 456/394. At least one more volume may have once existed, since the scribe of Bodl. Libr. Savile 15 (s. xv) copied the texts in both these manuscripts, as well as two further texts by Hugo from a manuscript that has not yet been identified.
44. These are BnF lat. 13951 (Ps-Apollonius, *De secretis naturae*, including the *Tabula Smaragdina*) and Bodl. Libr. Digby 40 (geomancy).
45. The note is attributed to Hunayn ibn Ishaq (Johannitius), the translator of many of the works from Greek into Arabic. It is a translation of an Arabic text that survives in Beirut, Université de St Joseph 223 (I owe this reference to Sonja Brentjes).
46. Jeuneau, 'Prologue'.
47. Only fragments survived the destruction of the Bibliothèque municipale in World War II, but a microfilm of the whole MS is available.
48. 'eam summatis transcurrere diversorumque diversam sententiam sub quodam compendio redigere curavi, ut quicquid verborum numerositas occultabat, aut physicorum dissona multitudo variabat, plerumque etiam inconcinna scribentium digressio dilatabat, simplicis pagine brevis absque omni scrupulo representet' ('I have tried to run through the subject briefly and to reduce to a kind of summary the different opinions of different men, so that, whatever the multitude of words used to hide, or the discordant throng of scientists used to confuse, and especially whatever the inelegant ramblings of writers used to spin out, might be presented in a single page without a stumbling block'): Burnett 1978, 123. This work survives in at least one twelfth-century manuscript: Erfurt, Universitätsbibl. Dep. Erf., Amplon. 4° 365, ff. 50–52.
49. Burnett 1996.
50. Haskins 1927, 169.
51. Burnett 1984.
52. Haskins 1927, 157–65.
53. He mentions them in his conversation with Walcher of Malvern, *De dracone* 2.2: see Nothaft 2017.
54. See the preface of Aristippus' translation of Plato's *Phaedo*, reported in Haskins 1927, 168–9.
55. Walcher of Malvern, *De lunationibus*, 3. 3.
56. Bodl. Libr. Auct. F. 1. 9, f. 78v (Arabic star names in red).
57. Bodl. Libr. Auct. F. 1. 9, f. 56v.

58. For a full description of the contents of this manuscript, see Nothaft 2017.
59. 'Ex cerebro testardi' ('from the brain of Testardus'). This name, meaning 'big head', would make us think of Robert Grosseteste, were the manuscript not too early for him. The hand resembles closely that of the annotator of Soest, Stadtbibl. 24, who adds the equivalent Arabic terms (in transliteration) to the terms in Firmicus Maternus' *Mathesis*: see Burnett 2004a.
60. For more discussion of the contents of this manuscript, see Burnett 1996, 244–52, and Burnett 1997.
61. I owe this judgement to Michael Gullick and Teresa Webber.
62. In the first instance, he repeats the star table in the text on f. 19v, but gives the Arabic star names in different spellings and sometimes adds alternative names, or the constellation in which they occur. In the second example he adds a phrase which has been omitted in the text.
63. See Burnett 2017.
64. The first three books of Aristotle's *Meteora* were translated from Arabic by Gerard of Cremona, the fourth from Greek by Henricus Aristippus, and Alfred of Shareshill, who evidently brought both parts together, added his own translation of the chapters of Avicenna on stones and minerals, probably considering them also to be the doctrine of Aristotle: see Mandosio 2010, 245–52.
65. The margins are conspicuously wide on ff. 10v and 12v; on f. 5v one note is placed in a rectangular box (more boxed notes appear on f. 43r et seqq.); other notes take the form of inverted triangles (ff. 3v, 5v and 8r).
66. The *De generatione et corruptione* is headed by a now invisible title, but Minio-Paluello read it as the Greek title 'peri geneleos keftoras'.
67. This feature, which would allow the reader to leaf through the booklet to find the beginning of the work, is found elsewhere – e.g. in the margins of Adelard of Bath's *Isagoge minor* in BL Sloane 2030, f. 83r.

*Medical Books**Monica H. Green*

Toward the end of the twelfth century, a scholar in northern Italy who identified himself only by the name 'Johannes' drew up a list of the medical books he owned.¹ Distributed across what seem to have been several different volumes, the twenty-six texts had all been newly edited, composed, or translated in the previous century. Johannes was witness to a revolution in medical learning and book culture that had just recently taken place, a revolution that allowed him and countless other clerics to claim special learning in a profession that had barely existed a century before. Actually, as we shall see, there had been three revolutions, three distinct moments of new text production that occurred over the course of the period. At the time Johannes was drawing up his own library's items, medieval Europe had available medical books in quantities and with a diversity of content that had never been seen before.

Aside from his very obvious interest in medicine, we know nothing about Johannes other than that he was wealthy enough to own so many books, among which was the extant BAV Vat. lat. 10281, containing his booklist. Similar personal libraries were formed at about the same time. For example, Salomon, a monk of St Augustine's Canterbury, active at the beginning of the thirteenth century, had many of the same volumes as Johannes had in north Italy, and so did Master Herebertus 'medicus', who gave his books to Durham Cathedral.² Salomon owned at least six medical volumes (containing at least twenty-three medical texts), Herebertus seven (containing at least twenty-two medical texts). Of the three, Johannes was most invested in the theoretical aspects of medical education, to judge from his strong interest in the *Articella*, a teaching compendium of short texts that had come together by the final quarter of the eleventh century. Johannes owned two copies of the collection, two sets of glosses on it, and a guide to the glosses. Even without biographies of these books' owners, therefore, the books themselves give us the means to perceive

changes that medical book culture underwent over the course of the Long Twelfth Century.

The present chapter has two aims. First, drawing on a decade-long survey of all 550 surviving Latin medical books from this period, it offers an overview of the Long Twelfth Century's new medical texts in the three chronological phases I have identified: what they were, where they were produced, and how their patterns of geographic dissemination might be traced. Second, it demonstrates that there was little that unified medical books as physical objects other than their specialized content. To the extent that there are general codicological shifts across this period (in script, page layout, dimensions, paratext, and decoration), the medical book does not stand out from developments in other areas of book culture. Importantly, medical books of this period usually lacked something we now think normative in the field of medicine: illustrations. Older texts that had been illustrated kept them, occasionally elaborating them elegantly. But no new texts created programs of illustration, and only one text translated from the Arabic imported illustrations from its source. A particularly unusual manuscript, because it violates these general patterns of topical specialization and aversion to visual elements, will, I argue, prove these rules. This manuscript is also unusual in that it is dated, a trait it shares with only two others in our corpus. Half a dozen more are approximately datable on the basis of circumstantial evidence, but most have no provenance information before the late medieval period. This survey is therefore based on paleographical assessments of approximate date and locus of production.³

Generating a New Body of Texts: Monte Cassino and Salerno, Antioch and Toledo

At least 550 volumes of Latin medical literature copied between ca. 1075 and ca. 1225 still survive, in addition to at least 160 catalogue or inventory witnesses to books owned by particular houses or individuals in the same period. These extant manuscripts and documentary witnesses testify to active interest in medicine all across Europe. Salomon, for example, the monk of St Augustine's Canterbury in the early thirteenth century, had works by recent 'masters' of medicine from the southern Italian town of Salerno, but also works from the preceding stage of the developing medical corpus, that is, translations by Constantine the African and the set of the introductory texts that had formed the teaching curriculum in medicine for the previous century, the *Articella*. Northungus, a monk active in Hildesheim probably

from the 1120s to the 1140s, knows only of the great corpus of works that Constantine translated into Latin from Arabic a few decades earlier, plus Stephen of Antioch's retranslation (following Constantine) of 'Ali Ibn 'Abbās al-Majūsī's *Book on the Whole Art of Medicine*. Geography was therefore no determinant of what texts were available across Western Europe in the twelfth century; most of these works were as readily available in England as in Italy.

Few of the surviving books provide evidence of their place of production. No single codicological feature unites the 550 extant codices identified thus far for this project. They range in size from tiny handbooks of approximately 120 mm × 60 mm to 890 mm × 490 mm, the dimensions of the *Codex Gigas* (Stockholm, Kungl. Biblioteket A. 148), the largest known book from the medieval period. Similarly, they are not defined by any single feature of layout, ruling, or decoration. The 'holsterbook' format that Erik Kwakkel has investigated – a tall, narrow codex that can easily be held in one hand, making it ideal for instructional settings – is no more characteristic of medical books than liturgy, philosophy, or grammar.⁴ Rather, the chief characteristic of a 'medical book' is its exclusively medical content; more than 510 of our 550 extant volumes have no significant content that cannot be characterized as medical. Therefore, the main points of book-historical analysis that can be offered here hinge on content: why certain texts show up when they do, where they do, and why in particular combinations with others. Because we can pinpoint where most of these new medical texts were being composed, we can begin to plot a geography of their dissemination as physical objects distributed and recreated across Western Europe.

Monte Cassino, Stage 1: Recovery and Renewal

Starting in the mid eleventh century, the recovery of a variety of late antique Latin texts prompted extensive editing and reorganization. The research project underlying the present study is the first to identify the Benedictine monastery of Monte Cassino as something more than the center at which Constantine the African made his medical translations from the Arabic. Constantine came into a setting that was already flourishing. Monte Cassino has long been famous among classicists for its preservation of rare texts from antiquity,⁵ and it should now be recognized for holding that distinction in the field of medicine as well. Cassinese monks retrieved centuries-old texts and edited them, both by collating them with other copies to identify problematic passages and by remaking them – abbreviating them, fusing them with other works, or putting them into more rational order.

When Augusto Beccaria surveyed what he called the 'presalernitan' corpus of medical texts and manuscripts in 1956, he identified 145 extant volumes and approximately forty medical items in booklists and inventories of the ninth to eleventh centuries. In those volumes, one can distinguish about six dozen different texts. Few are extant in more than ten copies across the three centuries, and most are anonymous or attributed to a handful of ancient medical figures, some real, some apocryphal. For our period, in contrast, which picks up where Beccaria left off, we can identify about 200 texts in circulation, some of them of such popularity in both numbers and breadth of circulation that we can begin to speak of a common European body of medical knowledge.

Several of the 'bestsellers' of the Long Twelfth Century were either composed or given new life at the monastery of Monte Cassino, or at the very least, in the southern Italian Beneventan zone (see Figure 15.1). The top 'bestseller', the *Passionarius* of Gariopontus, a physician of Salerno, was itself an edited version of an ensemble of texts that had first come to circulate together in the early Middle Ages and which, by the mid eleventh century, had been expanded by the addition of a new text, an excerpt on gout from the sixth-century Greek physician Alexander of Tralles. Adding together this pre-Gariopontean '*De podagra* Grouping' and Gariopontus' own edited text, we come up with sixty extant copies of this ensemble of late antique works surveying most aspects of medicine, except for surgery, which hardly registered in the early medieval Latin corpus at all, and women's medicine, which would have a different *fortuna*.⁶

A cluster of medical books was written by known Monte Cassino scribes between the 1060s and the 1080s.⁷ One of these volumes, now in Copenhagen, forms part of the general expansion of the abbey's buildings and treasure under the abbacy of Desiderius; it was written by at least two of Monte Cassino's top scribes, who (as we will see) were also involved in making other major works of medicine newly available.⁸ It was probably assembled by retrieving out of Monte Cassino's own *armaria* two texts on women's medicine from the late antique period. In 945 Leo, a priest from Larino (Molise), gave to the abbey of Monte Cassino the church and monastery of San Benedetto along with all its goods. Those included '[libri] medicinales III, Galienum, Aforismum et Genicia et Asclepius'.⁹

The texts of both Muscio (a late antique North African writer) and 'Cleopatra' that we find in the Copenhagen manuscript would almost immediately be reworked into new forms. From the 'Cleopatra', a new,

Title	Extant Copies	Witnesses ¹	Origin (MC = Monte Cassino; S = Salerno)
*†Gariopontus, <i>Passionarius</i>	52	10	S
*Constantinus Africanus, <i>Pantegni</i> [Arabic]	51	12	MC
*Pseudo-Macer, <i>De viribus herbarum</i>	39	6	Loire Valley?
*Constantinus Africanus, <i>Viaticum</i> [Arabic]	37	8	MC
*† <i>Articella</i> (incl. Hunayn ibn Ishaq, <i>Isagoge</i> [Arabic]; Hippocratic <i>Aphorisms</i> [Greek]; Hippocratic <i>Prognostics</i> [Arabic]; Philaretus, <i>De pulsibus</i> [Greek]; Theophilus, <i>De urinis</i> [Greek]; Galen, <i>Tegni</i> [Greek]); Hippocratic <i>Regimen acutorum</i> [Arabic])	35	23	MC?
* <i>Antidotarium magnum</i>	33	10	MC
*†Constantinus Africanus, <i>De gradibus</i> [Arabic]	29 28	7 9	MC MC ²
Isaac Israeli, <i>De dietis universalibus et particularibus</i> [Arabic]			
Pseudo-Apuleius Complex	14	8 ³	MC, etc.
*Alexander of Tralles, <i>Practica</i>	14	5	MC, etc.
Bartholomeus, <i>Practica</i>	14	4	S
* <i>Dioscorides alphabeticus</i>	13	6	MC
Pseudo-Cleopatra, <i>Genecia</i>	13	2	MC

Note: For works newly translated in this period, I indicate the source language.

An **asterisk** (*) identifies texts that at least sometimes constituted a volume unto themselves. A **dagger** (†) indicates works that also appear in the library of Johannes (listed in BAV Vat. lat. 10281, f. 41r).

1. I only list here items witnessed in contemporary catalogues or booklists that cannot be connected to extant MSS. I also only list items for which the identification is reasonably certain; thus, 'liber medicinalis' is too vague to be interpreted.
2. I have listed the two parts of Isaac's work on diets together here, though in fact twelve of these twenty-eight copies have only one or the other text. In Isaac's Arabic original this was indeed a single text.
3. I have included in this count all books called *herbarius*; five of these are specifically identified as *depictus*.

Figure 15.1 Medical 'bestsellers' of the Long Twelfth Century.

shorter version of the work would be produced, prefaced by a list of thirty-five chapters. This abbreviated 'Cleopatra', of which thirteen copies are extant, ranks as one of the 'bestsellers' of the Long Twelfth Century. From Muscio's work, two different texts would be produced, also radically abbreviated: (1) *Non omnes quidem*, a work in seventy-eight chapters made up of selections from Muscio together with other material, mostly

focusing on obstetric issues; and (2) *De passionibus mulierum B*, a work in twenty chapters crafted from the opening section of a Greek text attributed to a female figure, Metrodora, the ‘Cleopatra’ text, and selections from Muscio.

These reworkings of ‘Cleopatra’ and Muscio might seem insignificant, but for text after text in this period we see these same patterns of retrieval, editing, and repurposing. All three works of women’s medicine just mentioned are consistently prefaced by tables of contents, even in their earliest copies. In another realm, pharmaceuticals, we find alphabetization used as an organizing factor. This guides the production both of the *Antidotarium magnum*, a work collecting up to 1,300 different compound recipes and found in thirty-three copies from our period, and in the *Dioscorides alphabeticus*, a reworking of a late antique translation of the first-century CE Greek pharmaceutical author. Interestingly, lost in both the production of the *Dioscorides alphabeticus* and the Muscio adaptations were the illustrations that had accompanied both texts since their origin. Since these illustrations were found in the very manuscripts at Monte Cassino that had served as the redactors’ exemplars, the decision to omit the visual elements was clearly deliberate.

Monte Cassino was not the only house to dust off its old classics and give them new life in this period. One new branch of the Pseudo-Apuleius Complex tradition (for which see later in this chapter) seems to begin at St Gallen and gave rise to a small line of descendants that extends into the fourteenth century.¹⁰ A ninth-century copy of Alexander of Tralles’ *Practica*, which had probably been translated from the Greek in the sixth century, gave rise to several new copies in France.¹¹ And, as we shall see, there is reason to suspect that houses were exchanging copies for comparison and collation. But Monte Cassino is the only place that seems to have engaged in multiple efforts to assemble – indeed, to reimagine – something like a full *library* of medical writing.

Monte Cassino, Stage 2: Translation and Dissemination

Our understanding of Monte Cassino’s role in sponsoring the translation program of Constantine the African (d. before 1098/9), the first translator of medicine from Arabic into Latin, has greatly increased in recent years. More than thirty different texts can now be associated with Constantine. Whether these brought any codicological features of their Arabic exemplars over into Latin is as yet unclear, since few comparative studies of both Arabic and Latin traditions have been done. What we do know is that the

same scribes who were involved in producing the Copenhagen manuscript also contributed to the three earliest known copies of Constantine's works, which were made under his supervision.¹²

But what happened after Constantine's works left Monte Cassino? In fact, we know that by the second quarter of the twelfth century, select works of Constantine had reached major libraries across Western Europe. One of the earliest beneficiaries was Fleury, Monte Cassino's long-time rival. A number of medical manuscripts survive from Fleury that are either written in Beneventan script or very early twelfth-century witnesses to texts coming directly out of southern Italy. This is unlikely to be a coincidence. In 1106–7, an entourage of monks from Monte Cassino traveled to Fleury seeking to negotiate the return of the relics of St Benedict, which had been removed to Fleury in the eighth century after Benedict's foundation was sacked by Muslim pirates.¹³ Nothing in the account given in the *Chronicle* of Monte Cassino speaks about gifts exchanged between the two houses, least of all a specific gift of books.¹⁴ Yet the patrimony of Fleury, reconstructed by modern scholars after having been scattered in the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, presents a cluster of extant medical books unrivaled in number by any other religious house from the period; not by the cathedral at Durham, whose library has remained intact for a thousand years, nor even by Monte Cassino itself.

The Fleury collection duplicates works coming out of the first two waves of medical book production in southern Italy. From the first wave, in which late antique books were newly edited, we find Galen's *Ad Glauconem* and the pseudo-Galenic *Liber tertius*, texts that often circulated together in eleventh-century manuscripts.¹⁵ From the second wave, the period of new translations and the production of the *Articella*, we find Constantine's *Viaticum*, *De gradibus*, *Pantegni*, *Theorica*, and Johannitius' *Isagoge*; the pharmaceutical reference books, the *Dioscorides alphabeticus*, and the *Antidotarium magnum*; and the teaching compendium, the *Articella*.¹⁶ If further proof of their source were needed, the copies of the *Viaticum*, *Isagoge*, and *Dioscorides alphabeticus* are all in Beneventan script.

A manuscript not previously associated with Fleury takes us to the next stage: now that these new (and in some cases, sizeable) texts are available, what does one do with them? Berlin, Staatsbibl. lat. qu. 198, is one of our rare dated manuscripts. The colophon 'in era MCLXX' appears at the end of one text, a formula in the Mozarabic calendar (in Gregorian calculation, 1131/2). Written in several hands, the decoration and script point to southern France or northern Spain. Medical texts make up the bulk of the 155-leaf volume, yet the term 'medical book' is not quite appropriate. Excerpts

from various texts are inserted, sometimes in places that had been left blank at the end of main entries. Their character is diverse. While three and a half lines of *De vino* were added by a later hand at the end of one text (f. 75r), a short passage on the Tower of Babel was added in the blank half page between the end of the prologue of a text and its opening chapter (f. 10r). Certain interests emerge: a selection from Dioscorides on mandrake (ff. 1v–2r) and an extended recipe for *diacodion*, an opiate compound (ff. 4v–5r), suggest a concern with the alleviation of pain. Several texts on diets show a desire to maintain health through food choices, while sections on prognostics focus on determining the likely outcome of a sickness. A hitherto unnoted excerpt from Vegetius' *Digesta artis mulomedicinalis* and the earliest extant copy of the *Physiognomia Loxi, Aristotelis, et Polemonis* expand the volume's coverage further into the natural sciences.¹⁷ A short text on phlebotomy follows Constantine the African's *De oblivione* (*On Forgetfulness*), though there are also short texts on mathematics and the calculus of years since the Creation.

These scattered excerpts (most no more than two to four pages long) surround the four main texts of the volume: the *Euporista* of the late antique North African writer Theodorus Priscianus (ff. 9r–73r); Constantine the African's translation of Isaac Israeli's *De dietis particularibus* (ff. 76r–111r); Vegetius' *Epitoma rei militaris*, here in a standard set of excerpts characterized by what Reeve called the 'false preface' (ff. 116r–128v);¹⁸ and the earliest Latin translation of 'Arib ibn Sa'd's *Kitāb al-anwā*', 'The Calendar of Cordoba for the Year 961' (ff. 135v–143v), a month-by-month guide for agriculture, horticulture, and personal regimen, written following the Christian calendar from the perspective of life in the Guadalquivir valley.¹⁹

The Berlin manuscript is also striking for its illustrations. As indicated earlier, the use of images was not characteristic of medical manuscripts in this period, and here we see not innovation, but repetition. On the last page of the opening bifolium (f. 2v) are three different scenes: a seated physician holding an apothecary jar; a laborer weighing substances on a scale; and the physician and assistant laboring together with a mortar and pestle. The scenes are not unique: either one or two of the three elements are found in manuscripts produced in Germany and England later in the twelfth century.²⁰ Since these later manuscripts have no direct connection with the Berlin volume, one can assume they derive from an earlier, shared archetype.

Probably also reflecting an earlier archetype is a page showing three seated physicians, one with no indication of his identity, but the other two

labeled Galen and Hippocrates, the two leading ancient figures of medicine. This falls between the prologue and main text of Theodorus Priscianus' *Euporista*, but is in fact not related to it; Theodorus mentions neither ancient authority in his prologue. Rather, as with the first quire, this seems to be a recycled leaf, closing the second quire. The emerging pattern tells us something. These images do not illustrate the texts in this particular volume. They constitute a model-book: a collection of sketches for artists to use in creating new books in the future.²¹

This particular purpose is seen again towards the end of the volume in a sequence of images of Plants (in two cases, with human figures). These come from the Pseudo-Apuleius Complex, a cluster of late antique texts describing the pharmaceutical properties of various plants and animals, usually accompanied by images showing the plant or animal in question. Here in the Berlin manuscript, however, we find only the plant images, without any text, without even so much as labels to indicate their identity. These are meant to guide a future artist, not a reader seeking medical information. Stylistically, their closest parallel is with images in manuscripts produced at Monte Cassino.²²

The other five full-page illuminations may reflect freehand drawing, and are of such quality as to suggest we are dealing with a very skilled artist; all but one of them are framed.²³ But why are they here? None can remotely be called medical or natural philosophical. Again, the volume is functioning as a model-book. Two images, on the opening page and on f. 146v, have been largely erased, even though no new images or text are overwritten. The first, never finished with a defining frame, may have been meant to depict one of the evangelists.²⁴ Of the three that are clearly legible, one is of Nimrod carrying his spiked club. The other two are a Crucifixion scene and a Christ in Majesty. The latter is particularly notable for portraying the evangelist John as a giant eagle, itself so big that it serves as the throne of Christ. No comparable image is known.²⁵ Both images would have served well as models for a sacramentary or lectionary, where these scenes from the life of Christ would normally be found. Perhaps Nimrod would have featured in a psalter or biblical history; it is clear that there was some intention to interpret his story, as he is mentioned in the added passage on f. 10r telling the story of Babel.

There is not yet sufficient evidence to prove that the Berlin manuscript is a direct copy of Fleury's cache of the newest medicine coming out of Italy.²⁶ But at the very least, the volume must have been made at a center that was well stocked with new works of that origin. Fleury would have fitted that definition by 1132. It is also intriguing that the excerpt of Pseudo-

Bede *De arithmetica propositionibus* adheres in all but one of its readings to a copy in a tenth-century manuscript associated with Fleury.²⁷ Wherever its origin, it was not meant to remain at that center. It was made by visitors, to be taken elsewhere. A general sloppiness, even incomprehension, has been noted in the scribes' rendering of the texts.²⁸ Most importantly, this was not a *medical* book. The volume's theme could be described as 'rules for ordered living' for a landowner who also has to function as a military leader and head of an estate. This unusual volume captures a moment of transition, when many new medical texts were on offer but what to do with them was as yet unclear.

Salerno, Stage 3: Teaching the Practice of Medicine

What to do with a medical book, or at least certain medical books, was not in doubt for Johannes, our medical book owner from the end of the century. His extant volume was made in the same quarter-century as the Berlin manuscript. The two books could not be more different in character, however, both physically and in content. Johannes' volume has ample room for glosses, as do many other copies of the teaching collection, the *Articella*. Indeed, the wide margins in one of our earliest copies of the *Articella* – BnF lat. 7102 from the early twelfth century – suggest that glossing traditions may have begun with this consummate teaching collection from the moment it was first assembled.

Salerno had been a center of medical activity in the later eleventh century, when one of the Lombard princes was developing new compound medicines. However, the tradition of formal medical instruction and, more importantly, composition of medical works, with which Salerno's name is now most commonly associated, did not start until the early twelfth century – the only exceptions being the medical editor from the mid eleventh century, Gariopontus, and the medical enthusiast, Archbishop Alfano I. The works coming directly out of Salerno from the mid twelfth century on are found in multiple versions and with no distinctive codicological features that might stamp them as 'Salernitan'. Whatever books itinerant students commissioned – or made for themselves – they would have taken home with them.²⁹ A telling example of such transcontinental production is Bodl. Libr. Digby 79, a tripartite volume of 212 leaves whose first and third sections seem to have been made in England, but whose middle section bears all signs of having been produced in Italy. A collection of pharmaceuticals, gynecology, cosmetics, general therapeutics, and surgery, the volume has everything – everything but

elegance or organization. It is a working physician's book, with little visual signaling between texts and the many layers of marginal notes to lessen the inherent difficulty of finding material.

Many of those notes are merely navigational, flagging the topic of a recipe or a disease description rather than adding new content. Textual navigation had, of course, driven the first stage of work at Monte Cassino. The alphabetized texts (the *Antidotarium magnum* and the *Dioscorides alphabeticus*) organized vast amounts of pharmaceutical knowledge, while the provision of book divisions and tables of contents in the larger books of *practica* (Gariopontus' *Passionarius*, Constantine's *Pantegni* and *Viaticum*) made finding content easier. That such paratextual aids were not yet the norm is indicated by early copies of, for example, the *Practica* of the early twelfth-century Salernitan author Copho and his contemporary, the female author Trota.

A major innovation of the mid-century Salernitan writers was to recognize that even those early organizational features were insufficient. The massive Cassinese *Antidotarium magnum*, for example, comprised more than 1,300 individual recipes. But such comprehensiveness was a disadvantage when one had to identify effective remedies for particular conditions. Already, in the second quarter of the twelfth century, Nicholas of Salerno had abbreviated the Cassinese compendium. Retaining the alphabetical organization, he extracted just fifty-five of the *medicinales usuales*, the most commonly used recipes; he then added six new recipes (several of which had been formulated in Salerno itself) and expanded the original text by adding explanations of the drugs' properties. The *Dioscorides alphabeticus* would likewise be replaced by a shorter Salernitan counterpart, the *Circa instans*. Both massive Cassinese compendia would cease being copied by the early thirteenth century, victims of a transition to new, more concise texts.

As noted earlier, medical books participated in most of the major codicological changes that became widespread in the later twelfth century: the regular use of two columns, the addition of running headers, the development of the initial as a space for decoration and even elaboration of the text's agenda. Illuminated initials show physicians, not simply occupied with the task of healing, but teaching. A good example is that colossus of Salernitan medicine, the destroyed Codex Salernitanus, a 225-leaf compendium of about forty different texts composed at the southern Italian medical center. The codex seems to have been executed in northern France, and one of its historiated initials showed a master teaching three students; another showed a seated master, with his scroll, gesturing as if

teaching.³⁰ The initials in Bethesda (Maryland), National Library of Medicine E 78, a copy of the *Articella* illustrated by an artist known to have worked ca. 1210–30 in Paris or Oxford, shows the professional physician reading in isolation, teaching a student, consulting at the patient's bedside, and diagnosing urines. In all of these scenes, a book is present.

A Discipline (and Its Books) Matures

Neither Monte Cassino nor Salerno served as a writing center for the continued physical production of books. Texts emerged from these centers but did so haphazardly. The Beneventan script, so distinctive of the region of origin, can be found in only a small number of volumes, and does not seem to have left any permanent trace on this corpus. The medical corpus as a whole shows the same transitions from Caroline to an emerging Gothic that we see in other areas of book culture.

Perhaps the most vital witness to the success of the new Latin medical curriculum coming out of southern Italy was its adoption by an anonymous Hebrew translator in southern France, whom we know only by the demeaning eponym he assigned himself, 'Doeg the Edomite'.³¹ Of the twenty-six texts owned by Johannes, Doeg translated at least fifteen into Hebrew. In addition, he translated Constantine's *Pantegni*, Isaac Israeli's books on urines and fevers, three texts on women's medicine, and more. No contemporary copies of Doeg's works survive, so we cannot know how the earliest Hebrew manuscripts compared in format or layout to the Latin originals. But the translations themselves are evidence that, at least in southern France where Doeg lived, the new Latin medical corpus of the twelfth century had become as much a key to professional success for Jewish physicians as it had for Christian ones.

The profession of medicine in Europe was a work in progress in the twelfth century, still defining its major philosophical precepts, its main authorities, its essential pedagogical methods, and its social identity. What was fundamentally in flux in the twelfth century would be largely fixed by the thirteenth. And a measure of that assured status can be found in medical books. Not all new medical works of the period enjoyed the success of Constantine or the Salernitans. Both Stephen of Pisa (working in Antioch) and Gerard of Cremona (working in Toledo), areas recently retaken from Muslim control by Christians, were, in comparison with the southern Italian texts, failures: only five copies of Stephen's retranslation of al-Majūsī's great Arabic encyclopedia survive from this period, compared

to fifty of Constantine's; of Gerard's twenty-one different medical translations, most do not appear even once in our corpus. But one would have no idea of their poor reception from looking at the earliest extant manuscripts of their works. The earliest copy of Stephen's *Liber regalis* is not found anywhere near the Crusader States but in far-off England, having probably been copied at the place it now resides, Worcester Cathedral. This is a large, elegant volume: red, blue, green, and buff initials alternate, some of which are arabesqued. Even more visually stunning is the earliest known copy of al-Razi's *Liber ad Almansorem*, which employs gold leaf to fill out the background of all the initials opening the ten books of the text; double columns, alternating blue and red chapter initials, and numbered lists of chapters at the head of each book make the volume easily navigable. This, too, now resides at Worcester, but was probably made in southern France.³² These are recognizable as 'university books' even before there were university faculties in medicine, and they move us towards the very different world of high scholasticism of the thirteenth century. While Stephen of Antioch's work never attracted attention beyond linguists trying to better understand Arabic terminology, the Toledan corpus would emerge from obscurity and become the foundation for university training in medicine in the mid thirteenth century. Copies of the defining work of medical learning, Ibn Sina's *Canon*, on occasion reached heights of elegance that have rarely been equaled since; the extraordinary illuminated *Canon* from Paris ca. 1260 (now in Besançon), for example, is without peer.³³ And Gerard's translation of al-Zahrawi's *Chirurgia* (*Surgery*), the only medical text rendered into Latin with its original illustrations intact, comes at last out of hiding in the mid thirteenth century and similarly takes a place of dominance in its field.³⁴

Elegant books for elite physicians are joined by equally elegant books for the (elite) layperson. Whereas the Norman kings of Sicily in the twelfth century are known to have patronized other areas of Islamic science at their new court at Palermo, including astronomy and, most famously, geography, there is no evidence of such patronage of medical writing. Under the Hohenstaufens, however, we see the last revival of the Pseudo-Apuleius Complex. Two extraordinary manuscripts – 'twins', Giulia Orofino calls them – were prepared, probably for Frederick II and his son Manfred, in the second and third quarters of the thirteenth century. The text of Pseudo-Apuleius' *Herbarium*, as well as the other works that made up that corpus, become the scaffolding for full-page illustrations of clinical encounters, scenes of herb-gathering and a variety of other scenarios related to the delivery of health care.³⁵ In the decades after mid-century, we see lavishly

illustrated regimens of health, like the French *Régime du corps*, said to have been made by Aldobrandino of Siena for the countess of Provence, Beatrix of Savoy, or, replacing the illustrated Pseudo-Apuleius tradition, a new kind of illustrated herbal developing out of the Salernitan *Circa instans*.³⁶

Such volumes were not meant for regular use, of course, whether ponderous study or clinical consultation. For those essential tasks of the medical art, humbler books – still looking much as they had in the twelfth century – would continue to have a role. With the introduction of the *pecia* system towards the end of the thirteenth century, standardization of university medical books reached a new level. But again, this innovation of mass production was a function of the university context as a whole and in no way unique to medicine. Looked at from the perspective of its development over the course of the Long Twelfth Century, it could be ventured that adoption of regularized forms of book production, and hence the normalizing of medical knowledge, was one of the ways medicine itself became normalized as a learned discipline.

Notes

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1. BAV Vat. lat. 10281 is a s. xii^{2/4} copy of Johannitius, *Isagoge*. Johannes' list of books is added in a s. xii^{4/4} (Italian?) hand on f. 41r, and opens with the claim 'Ego Johannes habeo libros istos physicales'. My thanks to Erik Kwakkel for these dating estimates.
2. On Salomon, see Barker-Benfield 2008, 1860–1. The extant volume is Bodl. Libr. Auct. F. 6. 3, s. xiiiⁱⁿ. On Herebertus, my thanks to James Willoughby for sharing with me the draft of his forthcoming edition of the Durham Priory catalogues. In the meantime, Herebertus' booklist is printed in *Catalogi Veteres Librorum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Dunelm*, ed. B. Botfield (Surtees Soc. 7, 1838), 7–8.
3. See Acknowledgements preceding n. 1.

4. Kwakkel in Kwakkel and Newton, in press. Of about eighty such books Kwakkel surveys, two (2.5 per cent) are medical. Several more could be added to that list, such as BSB Clm 4622, parts VII–VIII (*olim* part VI) (ratio: 0.54); even so, they make up only just over 1 per cent of the medical corpus.
5. Reynolds 1983, xxxiii *et passim*.
6. Manzanero Cano 1996; Knight 2015.
7. Kwakkel and Newton, in press.
8. Copenhagen, Konigl. Bibl., Gamle Kgl. Samling 1653 (1060s or 1070s).
9. Beccaria 1956, 85.
10. Pradel-Baquerre 2013, 98–9; cf. Ferraces Rodríguez 2013.
11. Langslow 2006, 102.
12. Newton 1994; Kwakkel and Newton, in press.
13. Galdi 2014.
14. Hoffmann 1980, 494–5.
15. Leiden, Universiteitsbibl. VLF 85, part 1 (ff. 1–24), s. xi^{ex} (Italy?). On the connection of the MS to Fleury, see Mostert 1989, 95 (BF313).
16. The extant manuscripts I believe should be associated with early twelfth-century Fleury are: Leiden, Universiteitsbibl. VLF 85, part 1 (ff. 1–24); Orléans, Bibl. mun. 283 (*olim* 236), parts 1–2, 285 (*olim* 239) and 286 (*olim* 240), part 3, and 301 (*olim* 254), parts 4–9; and BnF, nouv. acq. lat. 1628. It is possible that Bern, Burgerbibl. 337, s. xi, should also be added to this list. Of these, only Orléans 283, part 1, seems to have been copied from an exemplar coming from an older French tradition; see Langslow 2006, 47–8 and 102.
17. My thanks to Klaus-Dietrich Fischer for identifying the Vegetius text, and to Vincenzo Ortoleva for information on the Berlin manuscript's place in the textual tradition.
18. Reeve 2000, 270.
19. My thanks to Charles Burnett for further information on the version of the text found here in the Berlin manuscript. The fullest description I have found of the textual tradition of the *Kitāb al-anwā'* is the online *Filaha Texts Project*.
20. These are Eton Coll. 204, s. xii^{med} (Germany), f. 1v; BL Harl. 1585, s. xii^{3/4} (Meuse Valley), f. 7v; and BL Sloane 1975, s. xii^{ex} (northern England?; later owned by the Cistercian house of Ourscamp, near Noyon), f. 97r.
21. Scheller 1995.
22. D'Aronco 1998.
23. That a single artist was responsible for all the images in the manuscript is suggested, for example, by the identity of the face of 'Hippocrates' on f. 5v and 'Adam' arising from his grave at the foot of the Cross (f. 154v).
24. Cahn, *Romanesque Manuscripts*, 63.
25. My thanks to Karen Reeds for contacting Adelaide Bennett Hagens at the Index of Christian Art, who confirmed for me that their files record no comparable image in Western art.
26. My thanks to Christopher Crockett for first suggesting a possible Fleury connection.
27. Folkerts 1972, 40, ll. 91–107.

28. Burnett (in Bos 1994), 225. Schipke calls the entire volume 'fehlerhaft'.
29. On the rapid movement of Salernitan texts to England, see Green 2008.
30. Wrocław, Stadtbibl. 1302, s. xii^{ex}/xiiiⁱⁿ (N. France?). It was destroyed in World War II. Reproductions of the initials can be found in Sudhoff 1920.
31. Freudenthal 2013.
32. Worcester Cath. F. 40 (s. xii^{med}, perhaps produced at Worcester by scribes trained in France); and Q. 60 (s. xii², S. France; at Worcester by s. xiii^{ex}). See Thomson, *Worcester*, 25–6, 157.
33. Stones 2014.
34. Green 2011.
35. These manuscripts are Florence, Bibl. Laurenz. Plut. 73.16, and ÖNB 93. See Orofino 2015.
36. Ventura 2009.

*Law Books**Charles M. Radding*

By the end of the twelfth century, law books, whether of secular law or canon law, had arrived at the familiar format of university books, with (usually) two columns of text, wide margins to accommodate glosses, and the use of multiple colours of ink to facilitate locating the internal divisions between laws.¹ Yet the eventual convergence of these manuscript formats should not disguise the very real differences in how they got there. For secular law, at least in Italy where the most important developments took place, lay legal professionals were the principal readers and often even the copyists of legal manuscripts.² Manuscripts of secular law were also precocious in making the transition towards page layouts intended for glossing and study, with a systematic gloss and a format devised to facilitate its use already in existence for the Lombard law by the third quarter of the eleventh century. These innovations in format carried over to Roman law during the early twelfth century, basically as the Justinianic texts acquired enough glosses to justify the effort. The production and use of canon law manuscripts, in contrast, was the province of ecclesiastical communities – monasteries or chapters – and Gratian's *Decretum*, the first university textbook, did not even take its final shape until nearly 1150.

In this chapter I consider Lombard and Roman law on the one hand and canon law on the other. The inclusion of Roman and canon law requires no justification, and for Lombard law it should be enough to note that jurists of the Lombard law were not only the first medieval readers of the Justinianic codification but also copyists of many of its earliest manuscripts. Lombard law is also the only set of Germanic laws to retain a significant place in manuscript production during the period covered by this volume.³ Salic law – the obvious candidate among other Germanic legal traditions – suffered a precipitous decline in circulation, at least to judge from surviving manuscripts: McKitterick lists only five manuscripts containing Salic law for the entire period between the late tenth and early thirteenth centuries, and in one of these (BnF lat. 9656, discussed later in

this chapter) the main text, occupying the first 108 of 115 folios, is in fact a glossed version of the Lombard law.⁴ Anglo-Saxon law, of course, lost much of its relevance with the Norman Conquest and the decline of the Old English in which the laws were written. Nor do we see the development of glosses and commentaries around Salic, Anglo-Saxon, or any other Germanic law except that of the Lombards.

For each of these legal traditions, I look at the process by which the text was stabilized, the evolution of the format to accommodate an apparatus, and the shift of production towards serving university study. Since laws are legislative acts rather than free compositions, it would seem that the content of law codes was settled before redactors or copyists began their work. Yet with legislative histories measured in centuries, that approach was not always practical. Laws accumulate over time, sometimes superseding or modifying existing legislation and always eventually resulting in a quantity of legislation too large for easy consultation. Adding to the complexity of legal compilations is the fact that laws tend to be fairly short and discontinuous from one to another, so they can be added into existing compilations, deleted, or simply moved around in a way that could not be done with texts of Augustine or Aristotle. For Roman law the work of codification had been accomplished by a commission of trained jurists appointed by Emperor Justinian; Justinian also used his own legislative authority to fill gaps in existing legislation collected in the *Codex Justinianus* and to endow the Institutes and Digest with the force of law. Transmission of those texts in our period was far from simple, but the texts themselves had at least been defined. Lombard and canon law, in contrast, were still at the beginning of the process of establishing definitive collections of the laws in force, and that process is part of the story of law books from the late eleventh to the late twelfth century.

For secular law, the most distinctive aspect of eleventh- and twelfth-century manuscripts is the important role of laymen – the judges and notaries *sacri palatii* of the north Italian kingdom – not only as readers of Lombard and Roman law manuscripts but also as their redactors and even copyists. It cannot be entirely surprising to find legal professionals preparing their own books, for they not only knew how to write but did so routinely as part of their work; they were, as Petrucci aptly called them, ‘professionals of the pen’.⁵ The fact that the graphic preparation of such scribes lay in documentary rather than book culture certainly influenced the appearance of the books they produced, for their hands are often less regular and there is much more variation in graphic formation between different copyists in the same volume than one sees in books produced by

an organized scriptorium.⁶ (Documentary traits in their scripts also contributed to errors in dating manuscripts that had important consequences for the historiography of medieval law by making certain key manuscripts seem much older than they are.) But the experience of dealing intellectually with the texts they were copying, and of working as part of a professional community, also seems to have freed them – or pushed them – to experiment with the structure and content of their books to maximize the ease with which they could be used. Manuscripts of Lombard law in particular were precocious in reserving space on the page for glosses, producing the manuscripts of the *Walcausina* (discussed later in this chapter) with standardized glosses by the 1070s, several generations before Gratian's *Decretum* became the first book of canon law to attract substantial glosses.

Lombard and Roman Law

At the beginning of the eleventh century, the legal inheritance of a north Italian jurist consisted of two distinct categories of legal texts. The *leges Langobardorum* had a fairly well-defined manuscript tradition consisting of Rothari's *Edictum* from 643 and the legislation of four of his successors, some of which – notably the laws of Liutprand – were subdivided into blocks according to the year in which the laws were enacted. After the conquest of the Lombard kingdom by Charlemagne in 774, legislation in the form of capitularies was issued by the Frankish kings and emperors controlling northern Italy and eventually by their Ottonian and Salian successors. Capitularies numbering in the hundreds were issued over the years, without any official collection of them ever being made; as a result, the codices preserving them varied widely in their content, with none of them coming close to containing them all. Some important *capitula*, indeed, are found in no collections earlier than the eleventh century, and must have survived as separate documents in archives, most probably the one in Pavia. The Lombard *leges* and post-Lombard capitularies thus generally had rather distinct manuscript traditions, even though a few manuscripts do combine both *leges* and *capitularia*, for example BnF lat. 4613, a manuscript from around the year 1000.⁷

In the eleventh century these separate traditions were supplanted by a new kind of law book that combined Lombard laws and post-Lombard capitularies into a single compilation. This work, published by the MGH as the *Liber Papiensis* in recognition of the role in compiling it of the jurists based in the old Lombard capital of Pavia,⁸ simplified the presentation of the laws by grouping the legislation of each king together, so that

Liutprand's legislation now formed a single long block of 151 laws. Post-Lombard *capitula* similarly were presented as blocks of laws attributed to successive rulers (Charlemagne, Pippin, Louis the Pious, etc.). Unlike their approach to the Lombard laws, however, all of which they retained, the compilers were selective in what they included from the capitularies, excluding capitularies and even individual *capitula* within larger capitularies that were without significance for Italian legal practice. The redactors omitted or took only a small selection of some common capitularies – fewer than ten of the eighty-two *capitula* of the *Admonitio Generalis* made it into the *Liber Papiensis* – even as they included other *capitula*, such as those of Wido, that are almost unknown except through these manuscripts.

In practice, the *Liber Papiensis* was more an idea or model of a text than a compilation created once and then copied through successive generations of manuscripts. Even the section devoted to the Lombard *Edictum* varies so much from one manuscript to another that scribes must have used whatever manuscript of the *leges* came to hand rather than a common exemplar. And the variations are still more marked with the *capitulare*, for the selection of capitularies was never entirely fixed and no two manuscripts arrange the capitulary section identically, with the exception of two codices sharing a common exemplar to be discussed in what follows. *Capitula* were moved around, sometimes from one emperor to another, other *capitula* are found in only one or two manuscripts, and still others were added only later, by secondary hands not involved in the original copying. Unlike what we see in some of the canon law materials, none of these inclusions seems politically motivated; they may simply reflect the fact that Carolingian and post-Carolingian legislation was never authoritatively collected.⁹

This process can be illustrated by the oldest surviving copy of the *Liber Papiensis*, Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana O. 53 /O. 55 sup. (the laws and capitularies were bound separately though sharing a common format and some copyists), which is also one of the manuscripts apparently written by legal professionals. The manuscript itself is datable to ca. 1030 by the termination of a king list with the reign of Conrad II (1024–38), though the scripts in which the volumes are written seem much older, from the ninth or tenth century. (Bischoff's notes show that he initially dated it to the tenth century, correcting to the eleventh, one supposes, when he reached the king list.) The reason for this anomaly is not hard to find, for the last scribe identified himself at the explicit of the capitularies: *Secundus notarius scripsit oc manus suas*.¹⁰ Documentary culture had simply preserved features that book culture had abandoned, and scripts similar to

those in this manuscript can be seen elsewhere in the writing of eleventh-century jurists, notably that of the judge Ambrosius who signed an addition to a mid-eleventh-century manuscript of the *Epitome Juliani*.¹¹

The glosses in the Milan manuscript show that its readers were fully aware of the variations between manuscripts. One gloss notes that a *capitulum* of Charlemagne is out of place: *Istud cap. [h]ic non debet esse*; the author of the gloss is referring to the fact that most manuscripts (mistakenly) attribute this *capitulum* to Lothar, assigning to Charlemagne a *capitulum* of Lothar having an identical *incipit*. Another gloss notes of a *capitulum* that it is not found in other manuscripts (*non sunt in ceteris*).¹² Evidently this manuscript had been collated with others, a common enough occurrence at the time; copyists of manuscripts often noted variant readings for certain words – variants presumably already noted in the exemplar from which they were working. In an ambitious extension of this practice, eleventh-century glosses occasionally try to settle debates about which readings are authentic by noting the readings found in other manuscripts, some of which are described as *antiqua* or *antiquissima*.¹³

By the third quarter of the eleventh century the proliferation of variants led to a precocious effort to standardize the text into a kind of critical edition. This project was attributed to the judge Walcausus or Gualcausus of Pavia, who was described as making ‘the pages now speak the true sense of the Edict’ (*verum loquitur nunc pagina sensum Edicti*). Not content to systematize the selection of capitularies, Walcausus also intervened in the language of the laws, even emending some passages where necessary to arrive at a good legal interpretation. Similar emendations, based on legal or linguistic logic rather than manuscript authority, are also discussed in glosses from the period.¹⁴ This ‘critical edition’, the *Walcausina*, survives in two manuscripts which not only share an exemplar but also have a copyist in common. And we can identify that copyist: he was the *Iohannes notarius sacri palatii* who prepared a document in Pavia in 1070.

The earlier of these two manuscripts, now BnF lat. 9656 (=P) (Figure 16.1), has seven principal copyists, and while most of them copied sections corresponding to the gatherings of the manuscript, two began mid-page and copied only a few folios. Though all wrote Caroline minuscule, the appearance of the different scripts varies considerably as do the abbreviations they used. Adding to the visual cacophony, finally, is the presence of several additional hands copying marginal glosses – an essential and original part of the recension. Since *Iohannes* was a notary it would be reasonable to assume the other copyists are similarly connected to

the legal community; could the more awkward writers have been serving some kind of apprenticeship?¹⁵

Both surviving manuscripts of the *Walcausina* are somewhat oblong with essentially identical dimensions: the Paris manuscript is 256 mm × 167 mm, while the second copy, ÖNB 471 (=V), is 255 mm × 165 mm. Marginalia were an essential part of the text of the *Walcausina* and were, for the most part, copied by the scribes responsible for the main text, often employing an identical tie-sign for the same reference. Given the importance of the marginalia – which was used for cross-references, diagrammatic distinctions, clarifications of the main text, and general comments – the page layout was planned with them in mind. In V, for example, the often busy outer margin was slightly more than half the width of the main text.¹⁶ The dimensions seen in other manuscripts from the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries vary, of course, but all reserve ample space for glosses and the surviving manuscripts are all glossed.

The last step in the development of the Lombardist textual tradition was taken in the early twelfth century when the legislation already collected in the *Liber Papiensis* was completely restructured according to topic. In fact, this was done twice, for we have two different versions of the *Lombarda*, both dividing the laws into three books subdivided into titles. Nor is this the first effort to impose a topical order on the Lombardic laws, because several manuscripts related to the *Walcausina* tradition contain elaborate diagrams grouping laws – though not all of them – according to categories borrowed from Roman law and other abstract criteria such as *contractus* (subdivided into *consensu*, *re*, *verbis*, *litteris*, *permutatio*), *actio furti*, and so forth. It was the *Lombarda*, however, that eventually won out, and one does not find copies of the *Liber Papiensis* copied after the early twelfth century; indeed, an early twelfth-century hand worked through the entire Paris copy of the *Walcausina* inserting cross-references to the organization of the *Lombarda*. The transition to the *Lombarda* did not, however, mean the abandonment of the analytical work done in the eleventh century, as the substance of older glosses was often preserved in the glosses to the *Lombarda*.¹⁷

The involvement of legal professionals also affected the transmission of Roman law.¹⁸ At first glance, the works of Justinian's codification – the Institutes, Code, and Digest – should have been immune from the kind of interventions that produced the *Liber Papiensis* and the *Lombarda*: the work of codification had, after all, already been done by Justinian's commission. Yet the key texts for jurists, the Code and the Digest, were far longer than the *Liber Papiensis*. The Code is

about 420,000 words compared to 60,000 for the Lombard law, and the Digest is nearly a million words. (The Institutes, more manageable at about 50,000 words, seems to have been copied without strain, but it was also less useful for jurists interested in the details of procedures.)¹⁹ For scribes working independently of any institutional context, as they were, for example, in producing the *Walcausina*, copying such texts posed challenges for the organization of work that went beyond anything they faced with even the *Walcausina*, complicated as it was.

For the Code the strategy adopted was to take extracts from the entire work and circulate these separately in a work known to historians as the *Epitome Codicis*. The name is something of a misnomer, since the extracts from the Code were all constitutions taken in their entirety, without the simplification or abbreviation implied in an epitome. In fact, the earliest versions of the *Epitome Codicis* are invaluable for just this reason, since they contain legislative details – the inscriptions and subscriptions – that scribes had learned to omit by the time the first complete manuscripts of the Code were copied. The process of taking constitutions from the Code was not, however, a one-time event, but must have been repeated (as we shall see) many times – so often, indeed, that we can be certain that these early students of Justinian's Code knew where to find an intact and presumably ancient exemplar.

The manuscript that tells much of the story is Pistoia, Bibl. Capitulare, C 106.²⁰ In the nineteenth century, this heavily glossed manuscript was attributed to the tenth century, creating the impression that the *Epitome Codicis* not only existed then, but was the subject of intense study. An eleventh-century date, most probably in the middle or third quarter of the century, is confirmed by the use of devices such as the Tironian note for *et*, the abbreviation *q2* for *quia*, and a superscript *s* at the ends of words. It is, indeed, not hard to see where the error in dating came from, since some hands preserved features (such as an *a* open at the top) that one would not expect to find in eleventh-century books. Yet such archaic forms persisted in eleventh-century documents even when they were no longer used when copying books, and it is likely that some of the copyists of this book came to this work from the world of documents. Also pointing to an origin outside an institutional scriptorium is the wide variation in the appearance of the hands, and a rather casual organization of the copying, with one scribe of eight copying barely more than a page, another only nine lines, and another only three lines out of 170 leaves in the manuscript as it exists today.

The work of gathering extracts for the *Epitome* was done not once but several times. The original text in the Pistoia manuscript represents at least one and probably several strata of insertions into the original form of the *Epitome*, and that process continued after the manuscript was complete: 138 constitutions were added to the manuscript, mainly in the margins but also on a slip of parchment, by twenty-three different hands, all of them working before 1100. (Other hands that contributed glosses bring the total active in the manuscript to forty-three, including the original eight.) As with the manuscripts of the *Liber Papiensis*, we catch a glimpse of a community of scholars for whom collation of manuscripts was a routine activity. Other manuscripts of the *Epitome* had, not surprisingly, somewhat different constitutions than those found in the Pistoia manuscript, with the exception of BnF lat. 4516, which was copied from the Pistoia manuscript (and by the scribe of that manuscript's first leaf).²¹

By the end of the eleventh century the leap had been made to restoring all of the Latin-language constitutions to the Code, but this was not done by simply copying the ancient codex (or codices) available. Instead, and perhaps because numerous manuscripts of the *Epitome* were already in circulation, the missing constitutions were reintegrated into the *Epitome*, inadvertently preserving some of the errors of organization that had developed over the previous decades. (A fragmentary manuscript now Pesaro, Bibl. Oliveriana 26, suggests how this may have been done, for it consists of a copy of the *Epitome* and a supplement containing the missing constitutions both – surprisingly! – in the same hand.)²² One of the earliest manuscripts of the restored Code, Berlin, Staatsbibl. Lat. fol. 273 from the end of the eleventh century, seems to have been produced in informal conditions similar to some of the manuscripts we have already discussed. A single scribe predominated, but his script is so irregular that it is hard to imagine that he was trained as a copyist for books. Twelve other hands also participated, often for very brief passages of less than a folio, even less than a page. Occasionally constitutions were copied in the margin rather than the main text, but always by the original scribe: a sign, most likely, that he was integrating two texts – the *Epitome* and a supplement – even as he worked.²³

Traditions of instruction eventually shortened Justinian's Code to nine books, with books nine to twelve circulating separately and being taught as the *Tres Libri*. It is hard to tell when this decision took hold because it was worked back into pre-existing manuscripts most of which – including all the earliest manuscripts of the *Epitome* and Berlin 273 – are truncated at the end. (A scholar who knew only these manuscripts would conclude that

medieval codices routinely lost their later gatherings!) The manuscript tradition of Justinian's Digest was similarly subject to arbitrary divisions, in this case into three parts – the *Vetus*, *Infortiatum*, and *Novum* – that do not even break at the end of titles, much less at the end of books. The only clue to how this happened is that the single copyist responsible for the oldest manuscript of the *Digestum Vetus*, BAV Vat. lat. 1406, did his copying in four distinct blocks, from back to front:²⁴ he must have been working with loose gatherings rather than a complete book, and it may be that the fascicle that should have carried through to the end of book twenty-five just got lost for a while! Lacking in logic as they were, and despite some variations in the earliest manuscripts, the divisions of the Digest nonetheless became conventional both for manuscript production and for university instruction.

A final trend to notice is towards larger manuscripts such as could comfortably be read only at a desk. Berlin 273, mentioned earlier, is still comparatively portable at 240 mm × 190 mm, despite adopting a two-column format. Yet other early Code manuscripts, Berlin, Staatsbibl. Lat. fol. 272 and Montpellier, Bibl. Universitaire, Section de Médecine H 82, retained a full-page format but were much larger: 325 mm × 210 mm and 315 mm × 204 mm, respectively. By mid-century the two-column format and larger size, with ample margins to accommodate glosses, would become the norm for manuscripts of both the Code and the Digest (Figure 16.2).

Even then some habits survived from the earlier legal scholars. Some masters of Roman law seem to have kept their manuscripts unbound for ease in handling,²⁵ a practice also perhaps witnessed in the Paris manuscript of the *Walcausina*. One also sees a continuation of the practice of emending legal texts by conjecture. The correct readings for certain passages in Code and Digest were also debated throughout the twelfth century, as those in the Lombard law had been in the eleventh, leaving a body of conjectures in glosses collected by Savigny. Interestingly, reported conjectures often take the form of 'in the *liber* of Martinus (or Rogerius or Azo)',²⁶ a formulation that gives the impression the books themselves could be consulted.

Canon Law

Shifting our attention from secular to canon law is to enter a different world. Canon law manuscripts give the impression of having been produced by well-organized scriptoria, as indeed one would expect for works used principally by ecclesiastical communities: not only is the parchment



Figure 16.2 Justinian's Code, two-column format with ample margins to accommodate glosses. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, d'Ablain 1, f. 105r.

usually of reasonable quality but the various hands within the volume are usually fairly homogeneous in appearance. No less striking, though, are the differences in the quantities that survive. Whereas we have six manuscripts of the *Liber Papiensis* and only three of the *Epitome Codicis*, Burchard of Worms' early eleventh-century *Decretum*, which remained the most widely used source of canon law into the twelfth century, survives in eighty complete manuscripts as well as another forty or so fragments; there are, similarly, about 160 surviving twelfth-century manuscripts of Gratian's *Decretum* – a text that did not even arrive at its final form until around 1150.²⁷ The differences in quantity have perhaps as much to do with where the manuscripts were used as how many were produced. Manuscripts of secular law, as we have seen, were predominately copied by and presumably for lay professionals, most of whom would have had no permanent institutional base. Manuscripts of the *Decretum*, in contrast, and of other books of canon law from both before and after the appearance of universities, must often have ended up in episcopal or monastic libraries where they could survive intact for centuries after they had ceased to be of intellectual or practical interest.

The comparative ease with which books of canon law could be produced did not, however, accelerate the process of arriving at a stable and definitive set of texts. One issue, surely, was the absence of a specialized intellectual community such as worked with Lombard and Roman law. Italian jurists had to deal with one another's views on an ongoing basis both by sitting together in courts and through debates on the proper interpretation of the law, many of which come down to us as glosses. Knowledge about canon law, in contrast, though widely diffused in the sense that every diocese needed some expertise, until the late twelfth century lacked any functioning judicial hierarchy to bring together experts from different dioceses or provinces in a context where they had to confront their differences. Another factor was the comparative difficulty in even knowing which canons were in force. For secular law there was general agreement that only a king or an emperor could make a law, so the body of law was finite and defined; the *Liber Papiensis*, accordingly, simply collected all relevant laws, even those that subsequent legislation had annulled or superseded. But the situation for canon law was not so straightforward. For some issues, especially those touching theology, texts excerpted from the Bible or the writings of the Fathers could be treated as canons. Other questions, such as those concerning ecclesiastical organization, pastoral care, and penance, might more easily be settled by the legislation of church councils, but no complete collection existed of these texts, which included provincial

synods as well as more general councils ranging over 700 years of history. Papal writings were another potential source, though the emphasis was on the early popes; it was not until the later twelfth century that papal letters would become a primary source of ecclesiastical law. Completing the round-up of potential sources of canon law are various forgeries such as the pseudo-Isidorean materials that had won an exceptionally wide distribution by the eleventh century.

In practice, compilers did not systematically attempt to gather all these sources but relied on earlier canon law collections. For example, Burchard's *Decretum* was mainly based on the early tenth-century *Libri duo* of Regino of Prüm and the late ninth-century *Collectio Anselmo dedicata*, with other canons taken from a few other collections; then, into the twelfth century, Burchard's work itself became a source for subsequent compilers. Anselm of Lucca, author of the most important compilation of the Investiture Contest, drew on a different set of works to develop his arguments supporting the importance of the papacy (an issue to which Burchard had been indifferent), including some from which he took extracts of the pseudo-Isidorean forgeries. Ivo of Chartres' *Decretum*, from around 1100, included almost all of Burchard's *Decretum* as well as materials drawn from other sources, including Roman law.

One of the reasons for the success of Burchard's *Decretum* was that its organization made it comparatively easy for readers to find the material they needed. Burchard divided his canons into twenty books according to subject matter; indeed, topical arrangement was the norm for the most important canon law collections of the period. Though Burchard's books were not subdivided by topic into titles, each book did begin with a numbered list of the canons it contained, further assisting readers looking for answers to specific questions. The codices produced at Worms used the margins to repeat the numbering of the canons and to provide a reference to their sources, while each canon was also provided with a rubric summarizing its contents. Further simplifying use of the *Decretum* was the fact that it gave clear answers to questions because unlike the Lombardist jurists, who had included every law in their compilations, Burchard simply excluded canons whose doctrines he disagreed with and rewrote others to avoid contradicting other canons in his collection.²⁸ Combined with a selection of topics that emphasized practical and pastoral questions, this ease of use kept Burchard's *Decretum* in wide circulation for more than a century, in Italy and France as well as in Germany.²⁹

The later eleventh century saw the creation of several other collections oriented towards the issues debated during the push for Church reform.

These never replaced Burchard's *Decretum*, however, perhaps because they were more oriented towards issues of Church governance and the role of the papacy than the pastoral questions on which bishops and priests might require guidance. The *Collectio Canonum* of Anselm of Lucca, for example, was divided into thirteen books instead of twenty, and the choice of topics was very different from Burchard's, with the role of the papacy made the subject of book one and penance being pushed back to book eleven. Like Burchard, Anselm chose only materials that agreed with his view of ecclesiastical organization, and though he did not rewrite canons as Burchard sometimes did, his rubrics were written to push the reader towards the interpretation he favoured. In format though, he stayed closer to Burchard's model, providing a numbered list of the canons at the beginning of each book, with the numbers now being incorporated into the rubrics rather than being placed in the margins.³⁰

It was not until around 1100 that one sees the first compilation which embraced rather than disguised the diversity and internal conflicts of the canon law tradition. This was the collection of Bishop Ivo of Chartres, also known as the *Decretum*.³¹ In addition to Burchard, Ivo drew on other late eleventh-century collections known as the *Tripartita* and the *Collectio Britannica* (which is not English in origin but survives in a single manuscript in the British Library). In contrast to eleventh-century compilers, Ivo's practice was to include virtually everything contained in his sources – virtually all of Burchard, for example – and leave it to his readers to sort out which was most appropriate for a particular case. For Ivo, these apparent contradictions were not a bug but a feature, and he advised readers who read things they think are contradictory to 'diligently consider what pertains to rigour or moderation, to justice or mercy'.³² Readers who wanted clearer guidance than Ivo provided gravitated towards the *Panormia*, a compilation that used Ivo's *Decretum* extensively while excluding some of the most contradictory canons and sequencing those included so that the last of a series of canons on, say, baptism could be seen as resolving the difficulties posed by the others. As a text the *Panormia* was enormously successful, surviving in a large number of twelfth-century manuscripts (and often attributed, erroneously, to Ivo). Its structure was still very simple, though, with divisions into eight books, each one prefaced by a list of topics covered but without actual subdivisions in the text and without a list of the canons contained in the book.³³

It was not until the middle of the twelfth century, therefore, that one arrives at the book that would define the study of canon law in the early universities. In structure Gratian's *Concordia discordantium canonum* was

not a canon law collection like Ivo or Burchard, and certainly not like the *Lombarda* or the works of Justinian's *Corpus*, because his commentary (*dicta*) both structures the canons and provides guidance on how to resolve apparent contradictions between them. The long *pars secunda*, indeed, is organized around hypothetical cases devised to illustrate specific issues, with canons quoted when needed as part of the analysis. It was, in short, a text for teaching, closer in spirit to the *Sententiae* of Peter Lombard than to Burchard or Ivo, and a text whose evolution over time is witnessed by the two recensions we have of it.³⁴ Gratian himself seems to have died in 1145,³⁵ and the text of the second recension (whether completed by him alone or others is uncertain) was already being quoted by 1150.

The manuscripts of the first recension already illustrate this new conception of a book of canon law.³⁶ Whereas earlier collections such as Burchard's had used rubrics or marginal notes to highlight the original source of canons or, occasionally, their content, the rubrics in Gratian's book are intended to guide the reader through the steps in his exposition. Though he usually indicates the original author in his text, references to specific works are often missing and his analysis often pushes towards conclusions that may not be clearly stated in any of the canons he quotes. The reader's attention has thus been shifted from the canons to Gratian's own analysis, and Gratian's *dicta* are usually marked with a paragraph sign, making them easier to find.

As Gratian's book established itself as a teaching text and began to acquire glosses of its own, its manuscripts began to incorporate further innovations in format both to facilitate cross-references and to keep it current. Paucapalea, some of whose glosses are perhaps as early as 1148, divided the text of the *Pars prima* into distinctions; Gratian himself had already divided the second part into *causae* and distinctions. (Some early manuscripts incorporated divisions into titles, but this innovation did not last.) One also sees a process of adding new material known as *paleae* to the text, including excerpts from papal decretals issued after the completion of the *Decretum* itself. In some cases, these additions were placed at the appropriate place of the *Decretum*; in others, the additions took the form of an appendix placed at the end.

By the end of the twelfth century decretal collections would take on a life of their own, with separate manuscript traditions. In form, papal decretals were letters replying to specific queries from local courts about the rules to be applied in local cases, resembling Roman imperial rescripts more than the legislation of medieval kings and emperors. Reduced to their essence by excerpting, however, and circulated beyond their original recipient, they

became statements of Church law that could be analyzed for underlying principles, with the additional advantage that they addressed precisely the questions that were least settled by existing canons. The earliest independent decretal collections seem to date from the 1170s, with the first substantial and systematic collection, the *Breviarium extravagantium* of Bernard of Pavia, appearing in the 1190s. Bernard organized his collection topically, into five books subdivided into titles, including both materials not used by Gratian from earlier popes and more recent materials, in particular from Alexander III (1159–81). The success of the *Breviarium* as a school text can be gauged from the quantity of glosses it attracted: the copy at St Gallen, for example, shows three-quarters of the page reserved for the glosses that surround the text on all sides.³⁷ The early thirteenth century saw the creation of other decretal collections that tracked the activities of the papacy – all of these, like Bernard's *Breviarium*, essentially private and thus susceptible to additions and variations – until Gregory IX took control of the process with the release of a collection of backed by the authority of the papacy.³⁸

By the early thirteenth century, therefore, books of canon law had arrived at the point reached by Lombard and Roman law nearly a century earlier, with texts for teaching and practice established by authority and convention. In Bologna, still the centre for the study of both canon and civil law, the books would even resemble each other physically, being large, written in two columns with ample space reserved for glosses, copied in the same *littera bononiensis*, and perhaps even produced by the same stationers (though this subject remains to be studied). By the early thirteenth century, one also sees at Bologna the emergence of the *pecia* system, which stabilized the division of the main legal texts into brief sections for renting and for copying, often accompanied by the appropriate *glossa ordinaria*.³⁹ Once backed by the authority of the university, this would remain the primary system for producing school texts until the end of the Middle Ages.

Notes

1. Legal manuscripts have usually been studied or described as part of the process of investigating or editing individual texts; but since many of these editions date from the nineteenth century, often indeed from before the widespread use of photography permitted the development of a more scientific palaeography, errors in dating and description are unfortunately rather common. No modern overviews of legal manuscripts as a category exists, but the essays collected by

Colli 2002, though specialized, will serve to give a sense of the kind of work being done.

2. See at notes 10–7, 19–21 of this chapter the discussion of the manuscripts of the *Liber Papiensis* as well as the Pistoia manuscript of the *Epitome Codicis*.
3. On the circulation of the Lombard law even outside Italy, see Meyer 2003.
4. McKitterick 1989, Table A (48–55).
5. For notaries and judges as ‘professionals of the pen’, see, especially, the chapter ‘Scrivere “in iudicio” nel “Regnum Italiae”’, in Petrucci and Romeo 1992, 195–236. Also essential is Petrucci’s concept of ‘scribal inexperience’: ‘Literacy and graphic culture of early medieval scribes’, in Petrucci 1995, 77–102.
6. See, especially, the plates of the different hands of Pistoia, Bibl. Cap. C. 106, published by Ciaralli 2000.
7. For the contents of this MS, see Mordek 1995.
8. The *Liber Papiensis* and its glosses were edited by Boretius in MGH Leges IV. I am in the final stages of editing, also for the MGH, the *Recensio Walcausina* of the *Liber Papiensis*.
9. Radding 2013, 101–6. This volume is a revised and updated version of Radding 1988.
10. Radding and Ciaralli 2006, 78, 85, and pl. 8.
11. See the comments of Antonio Ciaralli in Radding and Ciaralli 2006, 85.
12. See Boretius’ description, MGH Leges IV, p. LIV, at KM 72, extrav. 32.
13. See, for example, the *Expositio ad Librum Papiensem* at Grim. 2 §1 and Roth. 200 §1, MGH Leges IV, 398, 344.
14. Radding and Ciaralli 2006, 190–2.
15. Radding 2013, 150–3; Radding 1997.
16. For a recent analysis of **V**, see Gobbitt 2014. This manuscript is available online at the Digitaler Lesesaal of the ÖNB; search for ‘Lex Langobardorum’. **P** can now be seen in handsome new photos at the Gallica section of the BnF’s website, and the BL manuscript of the *Liber Papiensis*, also from the eleventh century and containing an archaic version of the glosses of the *Walcausina*, can be seen online at that library’s site.
17. This subject has not been adequately studied, but see, for example, the long gloss to Roth. 153 preserved in BAV Pal. lat. 772, edited in MGH Leges IV, 319–21.
18. All early (pre-1150) manuscripts of the Institutes, Code, and Digest were surveyed for Radding and Ciaralli 2006. A somewhat earlier census of manuscripts of the Code from before 1200, not always reliable for its datings, is Dolezalek 1985. For the middle part of the Digest, *Infortiatum*, see Dolezalek 1984. An exhaustive index, drawn from library catalogues and including some non-Roman materials, is Dolezalek 1972.
19. Radding and Ciaralli 2006, 140.
20. The essential analysis of this manuscript is to be found in Ciaralli 2000. See also our comments in Radding and Ciaralli 2006, 143–50.

21. On this manuscript, see Ciaralli 2000, 30–4; Radding and Ciaralli 2006, 148–50.
22. Radding and Ciaralli 2006, 132–3.
23. Ibid., 158–62.
24. Ibid., 199–202.
25. Dolezalek 1989, 211.
26. Von Savigny 1834–51, 3. 467–9 and esp. 468 n. d.
27. Landau 2008, 48
28. Austin 2009, 137–44, 199–222.
29. For the continued use of Burchard's *Decretum* in the twelfth century, see Rolker 2010, 60–3.
30. On this compilation, see Cushing 1998.
31. Rolker 2010, 137–45.
32. Ibid., 302, translating Ivo, *Prologus*, http://ivo-of-chartres.github.io/decretum/ivodec_1.pdf, p. 1.
33. See Rolker 2010, 248–89, arguing persuasively that Ivo was not the author of the *Panormia*.
34. Winroth 2000. For an overview, see Landau 2008.
35. Winroth 2013.
36. See, for example, Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Ripoll 78 or BnF nouv. acq. lat. 1761, available online in the Gallica of the BnF; but the format remains broadly similar in second recension manuscripts such as BnF lat. 3884, also in the Gallica.
37. St Gallen, Stiftbibl. 715, available in Switzerland's e-codices site.
38. On decretals, see Pennington 2009.
39. On *peciae* at Bologna, see Soetermeer 2005, esp. 254–60. For the origin of the *pecia* system at Bologna, see Rouse and Rouse 1994.

*Vernacular Manuscripts I: Britain and France**Ian Short*

When Dante wrote his *De vulgari eloquentia* in the opening years of the fourteenth century, it had long since been accepted that the Romance vernacular was an entirely appropriate linguistic register in which to compose literary texts, whether in prose or verse. By *vulgare illustre* Dante meant the standard Italian vernacular of his time, both written and spoken, which he contrasts with the more remote and artificial register of Latin, accessible only to a few. Of these two varieties of language, affirms Dante, the vernacular is the more noble, both because the oral predated the written register and because the vernacular is the mode employed by the overwhelming majority of the population.¹ Dante's innovative attempts (in Latin) at establishing the pre-eminence of the vernacular would probably have struck his Romance-speaking ancestors of the first half of the twelfth century as implausible. This was perhaps less true in neighbouring Celtic and Germanic cultures where the vernacular could claim a more deeply rooted literary tradition.

Whereas for Dante the term *vulgare illustre* could be applied comprehensively to both the spoken and the literary modes, his early twelfth-century equivalents were unlikely to have so readily conflated the oral and written forms of language, which for them fulfilled distinctive functions that were mutually exclusive. In general terms, the prevailing twelfth-century polarity seems to have been between the language of the educated élite and that of the illiterate majority, the former the written vehicle of literacy, the latter the mode of popular oral communication.²

From a modern critical point of view, however, it is more fruitful to see these two worlds not in opposition but as given points on a constantly evolving continuum.³ What Haskins termed 'an age of new creation in literature and art', he also saw as 'the great period of divergence between Latin and the vernacular'.⁴ But far from diverging, these two discourses can in fact be seen as engaged in a process of progressive assimilation or symbiosis, the first steps along a path that was eventually to lead to the

secularisation and vernacularisation of learning. The monopolistic categories of the early part of the twelfth century were to grow increasingly permeable: no longer was the clerical *litteratus* with privileged access to knowledge through *scripta* seen in static and antagonistic opposition to the secular *illitteratus*, deprived of learning by the restricting orality of his *sermo*. Mid-century England, for example, saw Latin and French engaged in a mutually enriching process, each culture absorbing literary elements from the other. 'By 1154', according to A. G. Rigg, 'the integration of Anglo-Latin and Norman-Latin culture was complete . . . In literary terms Henry [II]'s succession heralded an effusion of Anglo-Angevin culture, in both French and Latin, that made England an equal partner in the renaissance of the twelfth century.'⁵ But the phenomenon was a wider one also, as Paul Zumthor explains: 'A partir d'une époque située entre 1150 and 1250, on voit une à une toutes les langues vulgaires de l'Europe accéder aux prestiges de l'écrit. Langues chaudes de leur vocalité quotidienne, le francien [*sic*] du XII^e siècle, le toscan du XIII^e, le haut-allemand, toutes les autres: les voici bientôt promues au statut de la langue de la Loi.'⁶

From about the 1160s, a whole new public began to gain access to literacy. In the French-speaking world the last quarter of the century saw secular literature develop to a point where the demand for copies of vernacular texts had to be satisfied by new centres of manuscript production operating in parallel to the established monastic scriptoria.⁷ The era of the *miles litteratus* had dawned.⁸ To Hartmann von Aue's literate knight capable of reading books corresponds the teenage daughter portrayed in Chrétien de Troyes' *Yvain* reading out loud to her parents.⁹

The rôle played by Britain, a melting pot of Celtic, Anglo-Saxon and Norman societies, in this evolving European secular culture was a particularly productive one. The most obvious effect of the Norman Conquest on English intellectual life had been to make it more open to Continental influences, and this was as true for the twelfth-century book as it was for other cultural activities and artefacts. Another important factor influencing the early development of the vernacular book was its relationship to the traditional Latin book. From its beginnings as very much a poor relation, it was to grow progressively in status to become, by the end of the century, a fully fledged member of the extended family of books. This was the result of an increase in lay literacy and in the number of enlightened book-buying patrons. Scribes had no scruples, and few difficulties, in accommodating new requirements. The Church's willingness to embrace the vernacular as an auxiliary or complementary medium of communication to Latin must also have been significant in

facilitating the transition from a virtual monolingual monopoly to a more inclusive multilingual culture.

The internationalism fostered by the Conquest did not originally extend equally to all the Celtic-speaking areas of the British Isles, with the result that, while book production in Wales and Scotland seems to have declined, the writing of books in Irish, for example, continued to flourish. The decimation of the English aristocracy, on the other hand, led to the temporary eclipse of English as a written language of culture and to its replacement by French. The effect on English book production was commensurate. Hence, in quantitative terms of book survival from the twelfth century, while no fewer than fifty books survive in Irish, English boasts only half that number, while French boasts the lion's share of 100, of which two-thirds are of Insular (Anglo-Norman) rather than Continental provenance.

Admittedly from the domain of fiction, it is recorded that Gilbert fitz Baderon, an Anglo-Norman marcher lord of Breton descent, owned a personal library 'well stocked with books both in Latin and in French' before 1191.¹⁰ More reliably, Denis Piramus, monk of Bury, writing between 1190 and 1193, states that contemporary members of the nobility acquired individual written copies of the *lais* of Marie 'de France'.¹¹ Similarly, Henry II's vernacular historiographer Wace, sometime in the 1170s, declared that in aristocratic courts there was money and therefore literary patronage, and the possibility of finding purchasers for copies of one's works.¹² Literary activity at such courts is well documented from other English sources: between 1154 and 1182, for example, at the court of Roger de Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, four different categories of *jongleur* are recorded: *gignator*, *vielator*, *cantor*, *joculator*.¹³

A page had definitely been turned also when, between 1189 and 1210, Gerald of Wales, deploring contemporary standards of Latinity, diminishing patronage and dwindling audiences for Latin literature, could suggest having his *Expugnatio Hibernica* translated into French to ensure its wider appreciation.¹⁴ Having gained such recognition as a suitable medium for serious works of literature, the French vernacular appears to have come of age in Britain by the late twelfth century. Largely due to a series of adaptations of religious or didactic works (*translatio*), French had acquired, within a generation or two, some of the textual authority that Latin had previously enjoyed. The emergence of French from the ecclesiastical ambit led in turn to secular authors validating the use of the vernacular by selecting French as their preferred language of composition. The authorisation of the *sermo vulgaris* had begun.

The cultural predominance of French in Britain should not blind us to the fact that the Celtic-speaking areas of the country also participated in twelfth-century vernacular book production. In the Gaelic-speaking areas of Scotland and Ireland the eleventh and twelfth centuries saw the rise of a script-type known as Gaelic National Minuscule. About fifty manuscripts and fragments in this script survive from the twelfth century, among which the vernacular is well represented. From Ireland in the first half of the twelfth century comes the oldest surviving manuscript written almost entirely in Gaelic, *Leabhar na hUidre* (*Book of the Dun Cow*). Dublin, Royal Irish Academy 1229 (23 E 25) contains the earliest copy of the Ulster Cycle epic *The Cattle Raid of Cooley* (*Táin bó Cuailgne*), as well as the *Voyage of Bran* (*Immram Brain*) and the *Birth of Cú Chulainn*. Another extensive collection of Gaelic vernacular texts is contained in the Book of Glandalough (*Leabhar Glinne dá Locha*; in Bodl. Libr. Rawl. B. 502, dating from the 1130s), and another in the Book of Leinster (*Leabhar na Nuachongbhála*; Dublin, Trinity Coll. 1339 (H.2.18) from ca. 1150 to 1165). The Annals of Inisfallen (Bodl. Libr. Rawl. B. 503), an important historical source, has vernacular entries, in a series of hands, covering the years 1092–1130 and 1159 to the early fourteenth century. From Scotland comes the Book of Deer (CUL li. 6. 32), a small-format gospel book from the tenth century to which has been added, between ca. 1130 and 1150, a collection of charters in Gaelic from Aberdeenshire.¹⁵

By contrast, the first books written in the Welsh vernacular appear only towards the mid-thirteenth century. All that survives from the twelfth century are a few marginalia and glosses: the Book of Llandaff (Aberystwyth, National Libr. of Wales 17110B), a church register in Latin from Llanbadarn Fawr, preserves a few names and marginalia in Welsh; vernacular glosses to a short fragment of Bede's *De natura rerum* appear in National Libr. of Wales Peniarth 540, from the first half of the century, and a large number of isolated Welsh words in the genealogies of BL Harley 3859, containing the oldest surviving copies of 'Nennius' and the *Annales Cambriae*.¹⁶ Some Cornish words survive in the marginal commentary to John of Cornwall's Latin *Prophetia Merlini* of 1153–4 in BAV Ottob. lat. 1474, from the last third of the century.¹⁷

The number of surviving manuscripts in Middle High German, including a significant proportion from the eleventh century, is more than double those in French.¹⁸ Curiously, neither Italian, Castilian, Catalan nor Portuguese literatures are represented in the surviving twelfth-century manuscript corpus.¹⁹

These crude statistics reveal a quite different picture when their constituent elements are subjected to closer analysis. For example, the Middle English corpus, inevitably curtailed as a result of the Norman Conquest, appears at first sight to be more or less comparable with the French. However, sixty of these are administrative documents and glosses, while a third of the remaining texts are copies of pre-Conquest works. There was, writes Laing, 'apparently very little composition in English in the century after the Conquest apart from a few late additions to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. It was only from the late twelfth century that new writings in contemporary English began to appear in any quantity'.²⁰

The bulk of twelfth-century literary production in English is situated firmly within the Old English homiletic prose tradition, and gives no indication of any significant Continental influence. There is no sign here of the recession of Anglo-Saxon culture and the ascendancy of French. It is clear that, in the absence of lay patrons whose native language was English, secular literature in English had little opportunity to develop and thrive in the twelfth century, and still less to be written down. Worcester, Canterbury and Exeter seem to have been the main centres of production. Apart from the continued use of some Anglo-Saxon letterforms, the scripts and the (usually single-column) *mise-en-page* have few recognisable characteristics; indeed some of the hands (mostly English vernacular minuscule) have, rightly, been described as idiosyncratic and 'not very calligraphic'.²¹ There is, however, a measure of cultural contact to be seen in the shape of a dozen or so twelfth-century manuscripts and fragments in which French and English appear together in the same book (such as the Eadwine Psalter), or a further fifteen if the chronological limit is extended to 1220.²²

Compared to surviving manuscripts in English, those in French grew significantly in number and in the range of their functions as the century progressed. Prior to the last quarter of the century, all surviving manuscripts in French were either translations or reworkings of originals written in Latin (or, exceptionally, Old English in the case of Gaimar). The early rôle of the French vernacular has to be seen, however, first and foremost as an adjunct to, rather than as a substitute for, Latin. By the last quarter of the twelfth century, however, French had become a language of literary patronage.

Also noteworthy is the contrast between the considerable quantity of French literature composed in the twelfth century and the meagre amount that survives in contemporary manuscripts. Striking also is the amount that survives in fragments rather than whole books or booklets. The vagaries of

conservation must certainly have played a major rôle here, but it is also possible that only a few copies of individual texts circulated at the time. This seems to be true, for example, of the widely popular *Tristan* poems, which have survived only in fragments. Conservation rates in Britain seem, for whatever reason, to have been appreciably higher than those on the Continent.

To judge solely from the number of vernacular manuscripts that have survived, Insular French gives every indication of having been both more innovative, more productive and more precocious than its Continental counterpart. Only a third of the 104 twelfth-century manuscripts containing French are of Continental rather than Anglo-Norman provenance.²³ Before looking in detail at the component parts of this richly varied French and Occitan corpus, a typology might provide readers unfamiliar with the field with a general overview of its structure.

Twenty-seven of the 104 are fragments, ranging from a single leaf or bifolium to two whole quires, scattered across the length of the century and originating from a variety of geographic areas. In only three cases, all psalters, are the fragments bilingual. Half of the fragments are of small or small-to-medium size with minimal decoration, and the majority belongs to the textual category of 'recreational literature'. This is the most vulnerable of all the textual categories: of the dozen or so items belonging to the romance genre, eight survive only in fragments.

Another category consists of seventeen vernacular additions to Latin books. This is a well-documented phenomenon, attested from the ninth to the eleventh centuries, and continuing throughout the twelfth. Only rarely are the additions out of harmony with the volumes that shelter them. There is codicological coherence also, for instance, when the additions were inserted by the scribe of the Latin text which precedes them, or were made in the same scriptorium, as in the case of the epic accretion to the Gundulf Bible.²⁴

Fifty-eight manuscripts can be described as books in their own right, of which twenty-five contain nothing but French material. The remaining thirty-three have firm links to Latin either because they form part of bilingual miscellanies or because they are translations of or commentaries on Latin originals.

The bilingual miscellanies are mostly small-format Insular books with little decoration, containing texts of a practical nature: scientific, legal or scholastic. Sometimes the same hand intervenes in both parts: in Bodl. Libr. Digby 13 the hand of the French Lapidary is the same as the one that copied the Isidore in the following quire. Their homogeneity is sometimes

textual: BL Add. 49366 is a collection of legal texts, and BnF nouv. acq. lat. 873 a compendium of didactic material. In rare cases, the French text can be inserted into a liturgical book, as in the celebrated case of the *Chanson d'Alexis*, which found a home in the St Albans Psalter.

The translations and commentaries that present the Latin and the French texts on the same page tend naturally to come in larger-format and more sophisticated books. Pride of place here goes to the dozen or so psalters, all Anglo-Norman, to the translation of Marbod's Lapidary, probably made in Sicily (BnF lat. 14470), and the Isidore texts in Epinal, Bibl. mun. 58 from north-eastern France. In four separate vernacular commentaries on the Psalms, the French is used to gloss and expound the Latin.

Books exclusively in French are in a minority. From the first part of the century come two Insular French books, the celebrated *Chanson de Roland* in Bodl. Libr. Digby 23 (but notoriously difficult to date; it could be as late as the 1160s) and in every sense of the term a *unicum*. No other comparable secular book in French survives from this date; it is a somewhat shabby manuscript and its hand unskilled. The Oxford Psalter (Bodl. Libr. Douce 320), on the other hand, datable to the 1140s and made at the abbey of St Albans, is written in a professional hand, and was in all likelihood designed for nuns (Figure 17.1). The second half of the twelfth century sees an increase in production: two long biblical texts, a Life of Thomas Becket, a vast historiographic text from Touraine and a group of homiletic books from eastern France with Cistercian connections. Purely secular books include a verse epic, a romance and a legendary history. The *Codi*, a legal treatise, stands very much in isolation in a remarkably small Occitan corpus.

More noteworthy are three collections exclusively in French featuring the works of a single author; the poet Philippe de Thaon merited a book of his own to house his *Comput* and his *Bestiaire*, while the two religious poems of Frère Angier, another Anglo-Norman and a resident of Oxford, fill another book. Nantes, Musée Dobrée V is a collection of St Bernard's sermons and epistles. In addition, there are three volumes that seem to have been assembled according to literary genre: an important historiographic collection from Durham, the vernacular hagiographies in the former Ashburnham-Libri 112 (now BnF nouv. acq. fr. 4503) and the didactic miscellany in BL Harley 4388.

The Anglo-Norman survivals from the twelfth century, comprising, as we have seen, two-thirds of the entire French language corpus, cover an exceptionally wide spectrum of texts, from the oldest extant copy of the

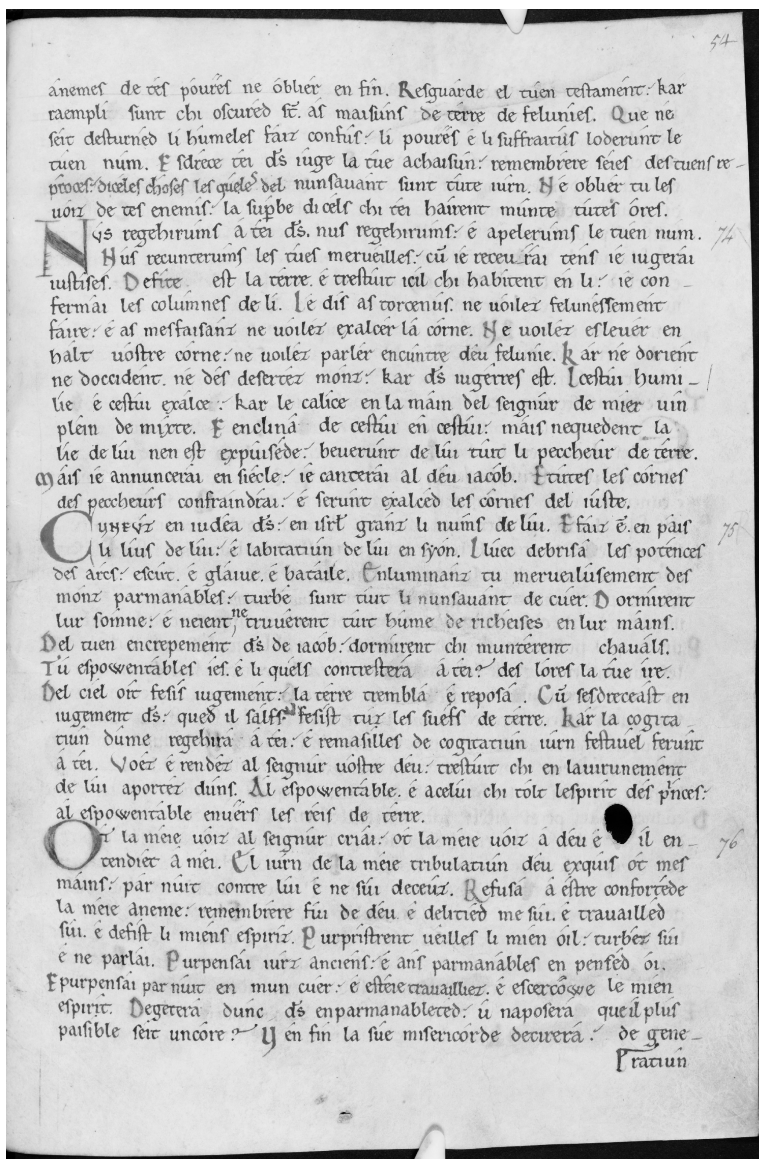


Figure 17.1 The Oxford Psalter, St Albans, 1140s. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 320, f. 54r.

French national epic, the *Chanson de Roland* (Bodl. Libr. Digby 23), to the earliest law texts (BL Add. 49366 ff. 141–144v: *Leis Willelme*) and the first administrative document, so far as we know, to be recorded in the French vernacular (London-Kew National Archives C 146/10018), a return to the *Inquest of Sheriffs* of 1170.²⁵ Bodl. Libr. Douce 320 (the Oxford Psalter, from St Albans) of ca. 1145 is the earliest book containing exclusively French text to have survived from post-Conquest Britain.²⁶ In being monolingual it stands alone within its literary environment of eleven other vernacular French psalters, all bilingual. With the exception of the trilingual Eadwine Psalter (Cambridge, Trinity Coll. R. 17. 1 [987] written at Christ Church, Canterbury in 1155–60) and its copy, BnF lat. 8846, all the other twelfth-century French psalters reproduce the Oxford text in varying formats. In the Winchester (or Henry of Blois) Psalter from shortly before 1161 (BL Cotton Nero C. IV), the French text is in parallel with the Latin, on facing pages, the same mise-en-page as in the so-called Corbie Psalter (BnF lat. 768), the Copenhagen palimpsest (Copenhagen, Universitetsbibl. AM 618 4°), BnF nouv. acq. lat. 1670 (after 1173, probably from Christ Church, Canterbury) and the St John's Oxford pastedown (Oxford, St John's Coll. HB4/4. a. 4. 21 [l. subt. 1. 47]). On the other hand, in the Arundel Psalter (BL Arundel 230, probably from Peterborough) and the fragmentary Orne Psalter (Paris, Archives nationales AB XIX 1734 [dossier Orne n. 1]), the layout is interlinear, whereas the Maidstone fragment (Maidstone, Kent County Archives Fa Z 1) and the damaged BL Cotton Vitellius E. IX set out the two texts by alternate verses.²⁷ Of this corpus only the text of the Orne Psalter shows any significant textual variation from Douce 320. The writing and illustrations of some of these psalters place them among the greatest achievements of romanesque art in Britain. The Oxford Psalter text, copied countless times in succeeding centuries, was to prove one of Anglo-Norman England's most popular and successful literary exports to the Continent. Other biblical texts include a handsomely decorated translation of the four Books of Kings (Paris, Bibl. Maz. 54 [70]: *Quatre Livres des Rois*), and Herman de Valenciennes' verse *Roman de Dieu et de sa mère* (Geneva, Bibl. de Genève Com. Lat. 183). No complete Bible in French prose survives from earlier than the second half of the thirteenth century.²⁸

Passing to hagiography: the celebrated St Albans Psalter of ca. 1130 (Hildesheim, Dombibl. St. Godehard 1) contains the French *Chanson d'Alexis* and a short prose text of St Gregory on images.²⁹ There are two more copies of the *Alexis* in the fragmentary BAV Vat. lat. 5334, and in BnF nouv. acq. fr. 4503. The latter also contains the *Vie de sainte Catherine* by

Clemence of Barking, the Anglo-Norman *Voyage of St Brendan* by Benedeit and an extract from Herman de Valenciennes' poem, plus an added translation of a papal bull dated April 1177. The rhymed Life of Becket by Guernes de Pont-Ste-Maxence survives in four twelfth-century copies: BL Harley 270, Bodl. Libr. Rawl. C 641, Wolfenbüttel Cod. Guelf. 34. 6 Aug. 2° and the fragment in London, Society of Antiquaries 716. A fragment of another French Life of Becket by Beneit of St Albans in tail-rhyme survives in Cambridge, Gonville and Caius Coll. 123/60. Two fragments of the *Brendan*, more a romance quest-type narrative than a hagiography, are preserved in Bodl. Libr. Rawl. D. 913, and Cologny-Genève, Bibl. Bodmer 17.

Closer to romance in the generally accepted sense is the *Tristan* of Thomas in Bodl. Libr. French d. 16, a two-quire fragment in a skilful hand and with a historiated initial in gold, perhaps the remains of a presentation copy. In the composite manuscript BAV Pal. lat. 1971 we find, in addition to the romance *Partonopeus de Blois*, fragments of *Amadas et Ydoine* and of *Floire et Blancheflor*. There is a love song *El tens d'iver quant vei palir* in Cambridge, Pembroke Coll. 113, and, complete with musical notation, the crusading poem *Chevalier, mult estes guariz*, of which the original dates from 1146, in Erfurt, Universitätsbibl. Dep. Erf. Cod. Amplon. 8° 32. There are no chansonniers before ca. 1240. Epic literature is represented not only by the Oxford *Roland*, but also by *Gormont et Isembart* (Brussels, Bibl. royale II 181 frag. 3) and the *Chanson d'Aspremont* in Cologny-Genève, Bibl. Bodmer 11 (with another fragment of eight folios in BAV Pal. lat. 1971).³⁰

Historiography, one of the most notable achievements of twelfth-century Anglo-Norman culture, is represented by Durham Cath. C. IV. 27, a professionally written volume of historical texts dating from the end of the century, which ensures that we have complete texts of Wace's *Brut* (ff. 1–94) of 1155, Geffrei Gaimar's *Estoire des Engleis* (ff. 94–137) of 1136–7, the *Description of England* (ff. 137–138v) of ca. 1139, and Jordan Fantosme's chronicle of the revolt of the Young King in 1173–4 (ff. 139–167v), the whole providing a more or less continuous historical panorama of England from its legendary foundation by Brutus until the reign of Henry II. A fragment of Wace's *Brut* is in Bodl. Libr. Rawl. D. 913, another *Brut*, this time anonymous, in BL Harley 4733, and a hybrid prose genealogy of the kings of France in BL Cotton App. 56.

Of didactic literature we have six copies of Philippe de Thaon's rhymed *Comput* of 1113–19: complete in Lincoln Cath. 199, in a very formal and expert hand from the middle of the century, BL Arundel 230, and three

fragments in CUL Add. 4166 frag. 9, BL Cotton App. 56 ff. 110–111 and BAV Reg. lat. 1244, ff. 53–58. In BL Cotton Nero A. V the *Comput* is accompanied by the only complete text of Philippe's *Bestiaire* of 1121–35, making him the first vernacular author to have more than a single work surviving in the same book. A verse lapidary in Cambridge, Jesus Coll. Q. D. 2 (44) is also attributed to Philippe, and there are two surviving lapidaries from the twelfth century in prose: BnF nouv. acq. lat. 873, and a single-leaf fragment in Bodl. Libr. Digby 13, f. 21, written in the distinctive Christ Church 'prickly' script and dating therefore from the first quarter of the century. Elie of Winchester's *Distiques de Caton* are preserved in the didactic miscellany of BL Harley 4388 together with the Anglo-Norman translation of Petrus Alfonsi's *Disciplina clericalis*, Guischart de Beaulieu's *Sermon* in alexandrines and Sanson de Nanteuil's *Proverbes de Salomon*. The homiletic *Roman des Romans* has come down to us in Yale University Beinecke 590, and the *Dialogues de Grégoire le Grand* and the *Vie de saint Grégoire*, both by Angier, Augustinian canon of St Frideswide in Oxford, appear together in BnF fr. 24766, written in a skilful, professional hand and explicitly dated to 1212 and 1214, respectively.³¹

What is distinctive about the Anglo-Norman corpus from the codicological point of view is the mise-en-page of the poetic texts, written in rhyming couplets set in double columns.³² The second line of each couplet is indented, giving a jagged appearance to the column but at the same time ensuring the autonomy of the couplet and the maintenance of metrical regularity by the copyist. Exceptionally, as in the case of the *Chanson d'Alexis*, verse can be written continuously as prose with punctuation marks to separate verse lines. When the text is laid out as verse, a *punctus* usually marks the end of each line. In the case of *Amadas et Ydoine*, the last letter of each verse is detached, ranged to the right and justified. In the tail-rhymed life of Becket by Beneit, the mise-en-texte is adapted to the unusual metrical scheme by the use of zigzag lines and a secondary column on the right. A complex system of accented vowels, designed to facilitate reading aloud but also sometimes functioning as diacritics, is characteristic of Anglo-Norman vernacular manuscripts. Punctuation is generally minimal, and little use is made of abbreviations. With the exception of the psalters, decoration is confined to coloured initials, occasionally historiated as in the Mazarine *Quatre Livres des Rois*, perhaps another presentation copy. The *Alexis* in the Hildesheim MS is, needless to add, *sui generis*.

No generalisations are possible about the pre-Gothic hands used in the vernacular French corpus; they range from the expert calligraphy of the formal *libraria*, via the more flexible and rapid 'school' hand, to clumsy scrawls.³³ Viewed as a whole, about half of the corpus comprises small-format fragments. Many of these make their appearance as insertions in or additions to Latin texts. Twenty-five of the complete books comprise exclusively vernacular texts. Latin, however, is ubiquitous, either visibly in the fifteen surviving bilingual miscellanies or vicariously as the source language from which vernacular translations or adaptations have been made. Only two of the exclusively French books, the Oxford *Roland* (very much a *unicum*) and the Oxford Psalter, can be dated to the first half of the century. Apart from the Eadwine Psalter, there is a single trilingual text in which Latin (in black ink), French (in green) and English (in red) share the same page: formulas for the visitation of the sick inserted, as f. 156, into BL Cotton Titus D. XXIV from the Cistercian abbey of Rufford near Nottingham.³⁴ An aid to the localisation of vernacular manuscripts, not available for those in Latin, is their dialect characteristics. Anglo-Norman has its own recognisable spelling system, as do other regional varieties of medieval French, such as western French, Normano-Picard, north and north-eastern French, Champagne and the central area of France known as Francien.

Turning from Britain to the Continent, we see that the situation in France was considerably less heterogeneous, owing primarily to the fact that fewer than a third of the surviving twelfth-century vernacular manuscripts are of Continental, as opposed to Insular, provenance. More than half of these (some sixteen manuscripts) trace their origins back to north and north-east France, the rest coming from the north-west regions of Normandy, Anjou and Touraine. Only two emanate from the Central (Champagne-Vermandois) area, one a psalter commentary (New York, Pierpont Morgan Libr., M. 338), the other a reworking of the book of Genesis in octosyllabic couplets (BnF fr. 900) written for Countess Marie de Champagne. Conspicuous by his absence from this group is Countess Marie's celebrated vernacular protégé, Chrétien de Troyes; the earliest manuscripts of his romances are from the thirteenth century.³⁵ Homiletic texts form the majority grouping in books from the north-east, with a particular concentration on the works of Bernard of Clairvaux (Nantes, Musée Dobrée V; BnF fr. 24768; Berlin, Staatsbibl. Philipps 1925) and Gregory the Great (Bern, Burgerbibl. 79; Laon, Bibl. mun. 224 [455]; London, Lambeth Palace 73) and other texts that can be categorised as Cistercian (Epinal, Bibl. mun. 58 [209]: *Dialogue de l'âme et de la raison*;

Verdun, Bibl. mun. 72: William of St-Thierry's *Lettre aux frères de Mont-Dieu*). Apart from the Munich *Brut* (BSB Cod. Gall. 29) and a fragment of the epic *Fouque de Candie* (BnF nouv. acq. fr. 18217), the other survivals are also devotional texts, including the fragmentary Vatican *Chanson d'Alexis* (BAV Vat. lat. 5334).

A similar distribution is demonstrated by the surviving twelfth-century manuscripts from west and north-west France: Benoît de St-Maure is represented by the best text of his *Chronique des ducs de Normandie* (Tours, Bibl. mun. 903), by a fragment of his *Roman de Troie* (Basel Universitätsbibl. N I 2, 83 + Brussels Bibl. royale II. 139/3) and by Etienne de Fougères' didactic and anti-feminist *Livre des Manières* (Angers, Bibl. mun. 304 [295]). From Angers comes the octosyllabic *Vie de saint Sylvestre*; the remainder of the books are almost all homiletic or otherwise devotional.³⁶ Special mention should be made of the bilingual lapidary, from the very end of the century, in BnF lat. 14470 ff. 4v–35v, probably copied and decorated in Sicily from an Anglo-Norman original.³⁷

The handful of surviving manuscripts of Occitan origin includes the Justinian law book known as *Lo Codi* (Paris, Bibl. de la Sorbonne 632), elegantly written in south-east France at the end of the century. The dating of the extract of the octosyllabic *Roman d'Alexandre* by Albéric de Besançon in Franco-Provençal (Florence, Bibl. Laurenz. Plut. 64. 35) is controversial: no less a figure than Bernhard Bischoff placed it in the first half of the eleventh century, whereas it is traditionally attributed to the early years of the twelfth.³⁸

It is immediately obvious that, in terms of historiography and psalter translations, Insular production is significantly in advance of that of the Continent. Even Benoît's *Chronicle* was commissioned by Henry II, while the Munich *Brut* has an Anglo-Cambrian origin. That the overwhelming majority of the Continental survivals should prove to be religious texts may well be a function of manuscript preservation, but could also point to a dearth of artistic patronage and production. Social conditions in Britain, its multinational aristocracy, its pluri-culturalism and its pluri-lingualism must obviously have been determining factors in making Anglo-Norman vernacular culture so innovative by comparison with its less centralised and unified Continental equivalent. Enlightened patronage from among the nobility must also have played a rôle. In literary terms, its direct contact with Celtic cultures must go a long way to explaining its creativity and originality, and the transmission, to France and Germany in particular, of the *matière de Bretagne* was one of its most significant contributions to medieval literature. It is only from the 1170s that Continental French

literature can be said to flourish, and indeed to take the ascendancy over its cross-Channel neighbours, which it does spectacularly.³⁹

The political reintegration of Normandy in 1204 marks the beginning of the end of Anglo-Norman England's golden age, and forms a convenient terminus for our coverage of Insular manuscript production in the twelfth century. By the 1220s, moreover, the schools were not only giving a new impetus to book production, but Middle English literature in its written form was also emerging from the hibernation imposed on it by the Norman Conquest. In addition, the English episcopal ordinances promulgated in the wake of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 and prescribing the teaching of the faithful in their own language (*domestico idiomate*, in the words of Richard Poore) were changing the face of Anglo-Norman literature and the rich body of manuscripts that transmitted it.

The first two decades of the thirteenth century ushered in a new era in vernacular manuscript production throughout Western Europe, in which the modest total of twelfth-century survivals can be seen to mushroom at an unprecedented rate, and from which more than 1,000 books are extant today, in French alone.⁴⁰ A professional infrastructure of copyists and artists catered for the needs of a new generation of book owners, and the vernacularisation of written culture was becoming an established feature of the social and intellectual landscapes of the leisured classes.

Notes

1. Dante, *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, ed. Botterill I/i. 1–4; cf. Lusignan, 40–7, 67–73.
2. On the status of medieval Latin and its implications, see Richter 1976; Wright 2002; the various contributions to Clanchy 2012, 203–23; Garrison et al. 2013; Maiden et al. 2013; Stock 1983, 12–87. On Latin vernacular bilingualism, see Cazal 1998; cf. Smith 1999.
3. Zumthor 1987, 130–7.
4. Haskins, *Renaissance*, 189–90; cf. Brooke 1971; Benson and Constable, *Renaissance*; Southern 1970.
5. Rigg 1992, 63. Rigg speaks (9) of 'the Normanization of England and the Anglicization of the Normans being well under way by King Stephen's death'; cf. Short 1992 and 1996.
6. Zumthor 1984, 63; cf. the earlier surveys of Richter 1979, 9–20; Stock 1983, 24–6; Zumthor 1984, 55–63, and 1987, 132–7, 196–202.
7. Careri, Ruby and Short 2011, xvi ff. For a more broadly based study of early Romance manuscripts cf. Frank 1994; Raible 1998.
8. Aurell 2011; Bäuml 1980; Clanchy 2012, 227–34, 246–52; Turner 1978.

9. 'sô gelêret was | daz er an den buochen las | swaz er dar an geschriben vant', ed. Paul: l. 1–3 [ca. 1195]; 'une pucele . . . n'ot mie plus de seize anz': Chrestien de Troyes, vv. 5356–8 [ca. 1175–80; cf. Laudine reading her psalter at vv. 1418–9].
10. 'un livre q'il me fist moustrer | dount sis chastels est mult manaunz | e de latyn e de romaunz': Hue de Rotelande, *Protheselaus*, 2. ll. 12706–10.
11. Denis Piramus, ll. 39–45; detail in Short 2007.
12. Wace, *Roman de Rou*: 110, 3. 163–6; cf. Short 2007, 322. On courtly culture in general, see Bumke 1991, and on literary patronage Bumke, *Mäzene*.
13. Greenway 1972, xl, lxii–lxiv.
14. Gerald of Wales, 264–5. Gerald opposes 'scripta latina paucioribus evidencia' to 'verba aperta communi idiomate prolata'; details in Short 2009.
15. Duncan 2008, respectively 39–51, 282–8, 70–120, 289–308, 33–8. I am very grateful to the author for having kindly provided me with a copy of this important study. Cf. Edel 2003.
16. Huws 2000, 11–3. Cf. Huws in *CHBB II*. 390–6; Davies 2003.
17. Curley 1982, 236–40.
18. Our comparative statistics, taken from Careri et al. 2011, xix–xxi, are not necessarily complete or definitive. The voluminous Old Norse literature has come down to us almost exclusively in copies later than the thirteenth century, with the exception of a small number of twelfth-century fragments and of an incomplete Icelandic version of the *Elucidarius*; cf. Gunnlaugsson 2008 (Table 1 on 88 lists the twelfth-century survivals.) Cf. McTurk 2008, 184, 246–9. See also Chapter 18.
19. Asperti 2006, 266–76 (268–9 for the *Pianto della Vergine* and the Tuscan *Ritmo Laurenziano*, and 149–53 for the Spanish glosses of San Millán and Silos). Asperti (274) speaks of 'il ritardo di un secolo di Penisola Iberica e Italia rispetto alla Francia' and 'la povertà e assoluta sporadicità delle attestazioni iberiche e italiane'. The Romanian vernacular is not attested before the sixteenth century.
20. Laing 1993, 3.
21. *CHBB II*. 24, 127 n.101.
22. Da Rold et al.: Index of Manuscripts containing French [and English]. For a selection of bilingual Anglo-Norman/Middle English books from the thirteenth century, see Taylor 2003, 4–15; cf. Emmerson 2007 and Frankis 1986.
23. Careri et al. 2011, xxxiii. For a general survey of Anglo-Norman, see Short 2013. On multilingualism, see Tyler 2011.
24. See n. 30.
25. An attempt at a complete list of Anglo-Norman literary manuscripts is to be found in Dean and Boulton 1999.
26. Short et al. 2010 and Short 2015. The text was probably translated directly from the St Albans Psalter.
27. Careri et al. 2011, nos. 13, 81, 60, 34, 76, 19, 88, 67, 68, 31, 49, 36, respectively. I omit the twelfth-century psalter commentaries in Hereford Cath. O. III. 15 and in Bodl. Libr. Laud. misc. 91, and the rhymed psalter paraphrase of BL

- Harl. 4070 (Careri et al., nos. 26, 63 and 39). At least ten psalters in French held by English monastic houses are listed in Blaess 1973.
28. For other religious texts, see Careri et al. 2011, nos. 15, 35, 55, 59, 61, 77, 85. On bibles, see Bogaert 1992.
 29. Bepler, Kidd and Geddes 2008; Gerry 2009. For the relationship between text and image in the French corpus, see Careri et al. 2008, lv–lviii.
 30. A blank column-end in the Gundulf Bible (San Marino, Huntington Libr. HM 62 vol. I) has been filled (ca. 1140–50) with the first six verses of an unknown *chanson de geste*: Careri et al. 2011, no. 89.
 31. For completeness we should mention the proverbs in CUL Ii. 1. 33, an Ælfric manuscript, and in Bodl. Libr. Digby 53. For medical recipes and glosses, see Careri et al. 2011, nos. 42–5 and 66.
 32. Exceptionally, the Oxford *Roland*, the Bodmer *Brendan* and Adam of Ross' *Vision de saint Paul* (Bodl. Libr. Douce 381) are laid out in single columns, which is also the format for texts in alexandrines; cf. Careri et al. 2011, liv. Single columns are also typical of twelfth-century English language texts. In Albéric's *Alexandre* the verses are written as prose but over two columns.
 33. For more codicological and palaeographic detail, see Careri et al. 2011, xlvii–lviii.
 34. Oxford, Jesus Coll. 26 from the 1120s has a six-line trilingual note to a table of consanguinity on f. 170v.
 35. Busby et al. 1993; cf. Busby 2002; Careri et al. 2011, xix, 15–8 for the new three-column layout.
 36. A full list is in Careri et al. 2011: nos. 3, 8, 20, 52, 69, 73, 78, 80, 83, 92; nos. 4, 79 and 90 are documents.
 37. Careri et al. 2011, 188–91 no. 84; cf. Avril and Gousset 1984, 175 no. 212.
 38. Careri et al. 2011, nos. 24 (*Alexandre*) and 70 (*Codi*). Additionally nos. 38, 80 and 82 are Occitan. The Occitan *Boeci* dates from the end of the eleventh century.
 39. Zink 1981; cf. Zink 1985.
 40. Asperti 2006, 271; Careri et al. 2011, xvii, xix.

*Vernacular Manuscripts II: Germany**Nigel F. Palmer*

In 1988 Ernst Hellgardt published a list of 276 German vernacular manuscripts from the 'eleventh and twelfth centuries' (codices, fascicles, interpolations and fragments),¹ of which 193 had been thought datable to the twelfth century (forty-seven to the eleventh century and thirty-six to the boundary zone of the early thirteenth century). None of these manuscripts are dated, few are datable on the basis of external criteria, and for the rest Hellgardt, in this pioneering study, gave the dates current in the scholarly literature. Since then, in the course of the ongoing reassessment of the significance of the material evidence of manuscripts for literary studies, there have been further developments. In 2005, in the context of a study of the punctuation of Middle High German verse texts, I published a list of 109 manuscripts of German verse which I considered datable to the period 1100 to 1250, assigning to each manuscript a date; no account is taken there of prose.² Forty-one of the verse manuscripts are assigned to the twelfth century in this list, and thirty to the period ca. 1200 or to the beginning of the thirteenth century. Much more important has been the enterprise of colleagues in Marburg, who have built up the online 'Handschriftencensus' (HSC) as part of the 'Marburger Repertorien' database, in which they record a skeleton description, with extensive bibliography, for every known medieval manuscript that contains significant German vernacular material.³ There is a huge amount to be done for the later Middle Ages, but the list of manuscripts for the eleventh/twelfth and early thirteenth centuries is very complete. The material presented in the HSC is linked to another database, the 'Paderborner Repertorium der deutschsprachigen Textüberlieferung des 8. bis 12. Jahrhunderts', which contains more detailed information.⁴ Whereas Hellgardt, whose aim was to document what had been stated in previous scholarship, came up with nearly 200 German manuscripts and fragments for the twelfth century, the Paderborn Repertorium lists only 135 German manuscripts and fragments from the period 1075 to 1225 (largely as a result of different criteria for identifying a 'German manuscript' and the

taking into account of more recent scholarship, where there has been a marked trend, for better or worse, to date later). The online databases suffer from the disadvantage that they focus exclusively on vernacular material, paying too little attention to what is often a very significant Latin context.⁵

A bird's-eye view, such as these numerical data provide, is full of imprecisions, as it obscures differences of opinion, especially about the place of bilingual manuscripts. It obscures the fact that only ten manuscripts exhibit Central German dialect features and only seven those of the Low German language spoken in the north. The surviving material comes almost entirely from the region east of the Rhine and south of the Main. Furthermore, as Christa Bertelsmeier-Kierst pointed out in the first of two overview studies presented at colloquia in 1998 and 2001, the production of German manuscripts, to judge from what has survived, increases slowly from very modest proportions (in quantitative terms) in the eleventh century and the first half of the twelfth, only acquiring dynamic at the end of the twelfth and in the years around 1200 (in which period she would place a quarter of all German manuscripts conventionally dated to the twelfth century), and increasing rapidly in the thirteenth century (some 800 German manuscripts).⁶ On the most conservative estimates of how many of the items considered in these surveys truly represent vernacular book production, and however one tries to account for their survival, it is clear that the quantity of vernacular books produced in the twelfth century and in the years around 1200, in the southern and south-east German lands, was quite considerable and stands out in quantitative terms by comparison with other European vernaculars.

Many of the German vernacular manuscripts from this period are monastic in origin, and conservative forms of monastic literature, in particular bilingual texts written in a mixture of Latin and German, dominate at least the earlier part of the period under consideration. But how does this manuscript-based perspective sit alongside what we know of the new developments in the literary world during a period that saw a blossoming of new literary forms?⁷ The second half of the twelfth century and the early years of the thirteenth had witnessed the rise of German court love poetry (the 'Minnesang') as well as the didactic and religious lyric, the first courtly romances and epic poems, such as Pfaffe Lambrecht's *Alexanderlied* (ca. 1150/60),⁸ the literary composition of a major example of heroic epic (the *Nibelungenlied* and *Klage*, ca. 1180–1210)⁹ and court romances culminating in Gottfried von Strassburg's *Tristan* (ca. 1210),¹⁰ Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* (before 1210) and the same author's

remarkable epic poem in the manner of the 'chansons de geste', his *Willehalm* (before 1217).¹¹

In the monastic domain major changes resulted from the reform movements, important examples of which are the Hirsau reforms from the later eleventh and early twelfth centuries, which encompassed not only great Benedictine abbeys in the south-west such as Hirsau itself, St. Blasien and Zwiefalten, but also extended northwards to Reinhardsbrunn in Thuringia and most importantly eastwards as far as Admont and Millstatt in Austria,¹² and the new reformed orders that followed the Benedictine Rule, notably the Cistercians (whose first foundations in the German lands date from 1123 onwards) and the Premonstratensians (1122 onwards). The Carthusians did not yet have foundations in this region. In the German context the Benedictine reforms had a considerable impact on libraries and manuscript production, preceding the coming of the mendicant orders in the thirteenth century and the efflorescence of new forms of female monasticism. Where provenances can be attributed to German monastic manuscripts, as with a number of copies of Williram's *Commentary on the Song of Songs* (Figure 18.1) the overall picture is that of transmission throughout the network of Benedictine abbeys, such as Ebersberg, Einsiedeln, Lambach and Kremsmünster, and the Augustinian canons of Indersdorf and Vorau. At the end of the century, however, we encounter a cluster of texts and manuscripts that can be associated with the double house of Admont, which had become a stronghold of the Hirsau Reform in the eastern territories of the Empire. A good case has been made for the nuns of Admont as the intended recipients of the *St Trudperter Hohes Lied* (ca. 1160, with an Austro-Bavarian fragment datable ca. 1170–90 and a complete South-West German codex from ca. 1230) and for Admont as the abbey where the Karlsruhe-Cracow manuscript of the Millstatt Sermons (early thirteenth century) was copied, perhaps for the lay brothers and quite likely from an exemplar deriving from the Hirsau reform monastery of St. Georgen in the Black Forest. Admont is also the 'Schreibheimat' of the Millstatt Psalter and Hymnal, which contains German interlinear translations (datable ca. 1200).¹³ Some of the Benedictine abbeys were double monasteries, with men and women, but scholarship has in general preferred to think in terms of lay brothers (*conversi*) rather than nuns as the likely audience for the German manuscripts. An important exception, the only twelfth-century German manuscript definitely written for a woman, is the minuscule bilingual Prayer Book of Muri from the second half of the century (possibly before 1175), which is probably monastic, despite elements most likely written with laywomen in mind (Figure 18.2).¹⁴

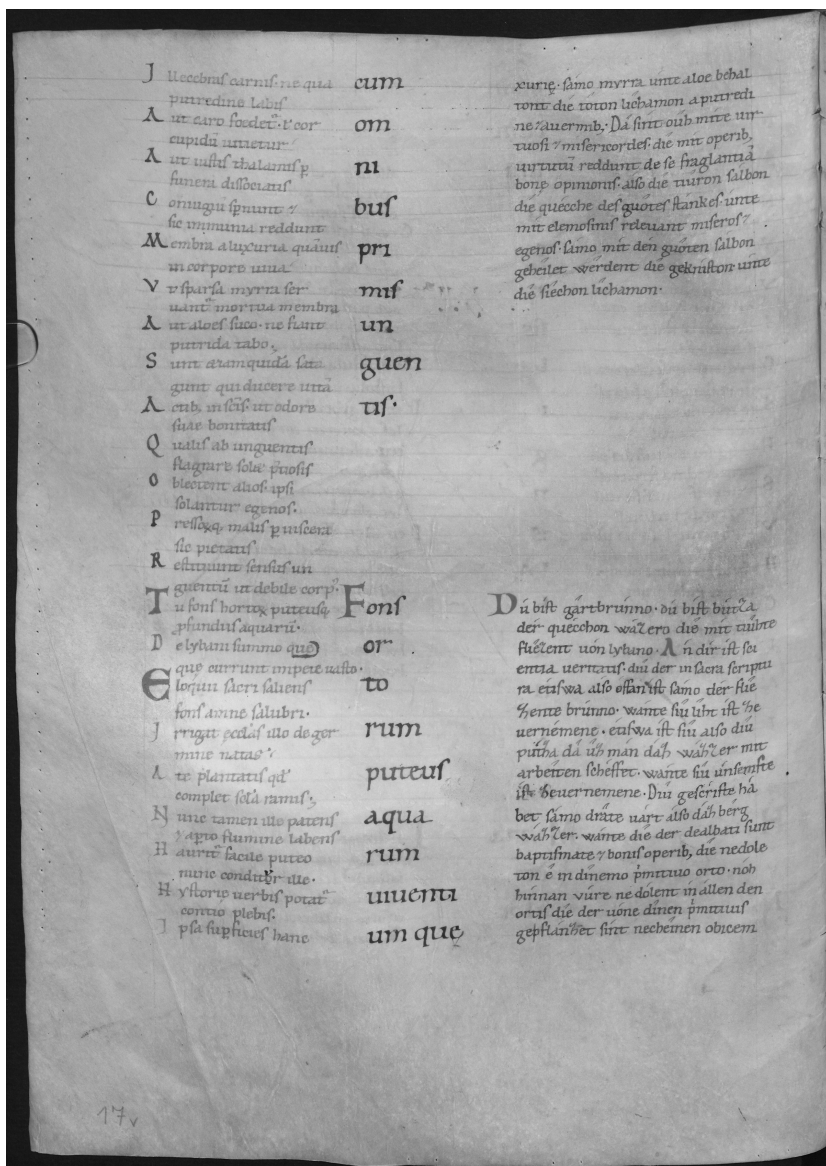


Figure 18.1 Williram von Ebersberg, *Commentary on the Song of Songs*. Written area: 198–203 × 146–54 mm. Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2686, f. 17v.

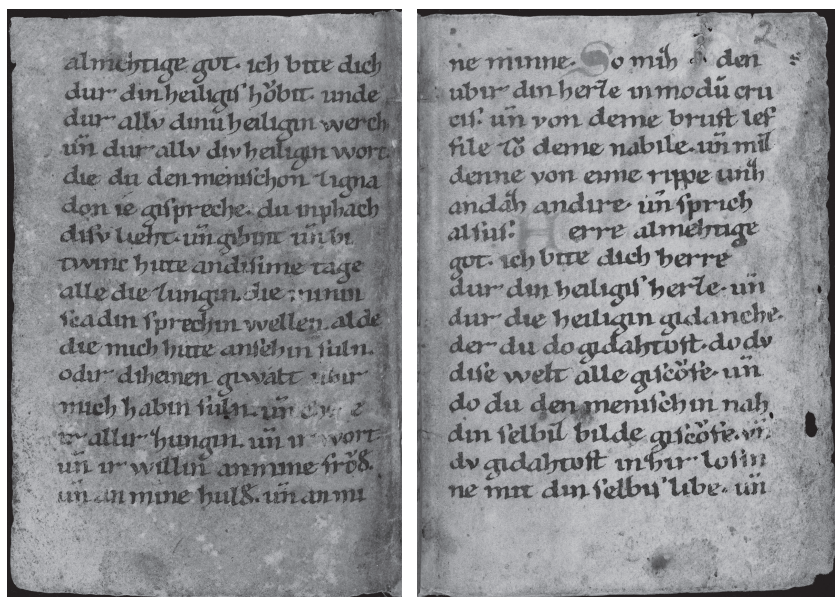


Figure 18.2 Prayer Book from Muri. Written area: 70 × 50 mm. Sarnen, Bibliothek des Benediktinerkollegiums, Cod. membr. 69, ff. iv–2r.

A second factor is lay patronage for German literature, as articulated in the prologue to the *Rolandslied* (Henry the Lion, duke of Bavaria, after his marriage to Matilda in 1168, datable ca. 1170 or a little later),¹⁵ or in the epilogue of Heinrich von Veldeke's *Servatius* (Countess Agnes of Loon, 1170s or 1180s).¹⁶ The epilogue to Heinrich von Veldeke's *Eneas* states that the manuscript of his German adaptation of the *Roman d'Énéas*, which had been entrusted to a lady-in-waiting, was stolen by a certain Count Heinrich on the occasion of the marriage of the Countess of Kleve and Landgrave Ludwig III of Thuringia. Nine years later it was returned to the poet by Landgrave Hermann of Thuringia, Ludwig's brother, for whom Veldeke completed the work.¹⁷ Other texts, all from the second half of the century, can be associated with specific noble individuals or families on the basis of their naming in the texts, as for example with 'von Horbvrc her Walther', attested in Alsace fl. 1130–56/62, in *Reinhart Fuchs*.¹⁸ In the bridal-quest epic *König Rother* an association with noble families in Bavaria is established by the characters Wolfrat von Tengelingen, the duke of Meran and the duke of Diessen, names that suggest an audience

among the Bavarian lay nobility.¹⁹ The epilogue to Ulrich von Zatzikhofen's *Lanzelet*, from the end of the century, describes how an English nobleman Hugh of Morville, who had been brought to the German lands as a hostage in return for the freeing of Richard Lionheart from captivity, was carrying the manuscript of the French source with him, which the German poet, at the behest of a group of 'friends' (evidently German nobles), rendered into German.²⁰ The references cited here almost all make specific mention of manuscript copies, while at the same time implying a close association with lay patrons who would surely have wanted to receive presentation copies of some kind, but there is no evidence of surviving books that would appear to be directly associated with the patrons. Two illuminated manuscripts of the *Rolandslied* (one destroyed in 1870) provide an idea of what more prestigious copies of epic poetry with historical subject matter might look like, but both these manuscripts date long after the time of composition, and that in Heidelberg (Figure 18.3), datable ca. 1200, has a Bavarian text, whereas the court of the patron, Henry the Lion, was in Braunschweig (Lower Saxony).²¹

A third factor in the development of German literary production in the late twelfth century, the so-called 'Blütezeit', is the adaptation of French courtly literature into German, not in this period close renderings, but rather free adaptations. The earliest such work is Pfaffe Lambrecht's *Alexanderlied* (ca. 1150/60), based on an Occitan source.²² It was followed by Pfaffe Konrad's *Rolandslied* (1170s), Heinrich von Veldeke's *Eneas* (mid-1170s, completed after ca. 1184), Hartmann von Aue's *Erec*, *Iwein* and *Gregorius* (ca. 1180–1205), Eilhart von Oberge's *Tristrant* (1190s?), Herbort von Fritslar's *Liet von Troye* (ca. 1195–1215), *Reinhart Fuchs* by a certain Heinrich (1190s), Ulrich von Zatzikhofen's *Lanzelet* (author attested in 1214), Otte's *Eraclius* (1190–1230?), anonymous texts such as *Graf Rudolf* (1170–90?) and *Athis und Prophlias* (ca. 1210?) and then in the early thirteenth century Gottfried's *Tristan* and the works of Wolfram von Eschenbach: *Parzival*, *Titarel* and *Willehalm*. This same period also saw a flourishing of the courtly love lyric in Middle High German in which the direct influence of northern French and Occitan poetry combined with indigenous traditions.²³

Yet a fourth factor is the development of the German four-beat couplet verse with end-rhyme, which was used for vernacular texts from the late eleventh century onwards, and during the period of direct French influence came to be modified, abandoning the older aesthetic of assonance in favour of greater regularity and pure end-rhyme. This development was accompanied by the regularisation of the four-beat verse form with

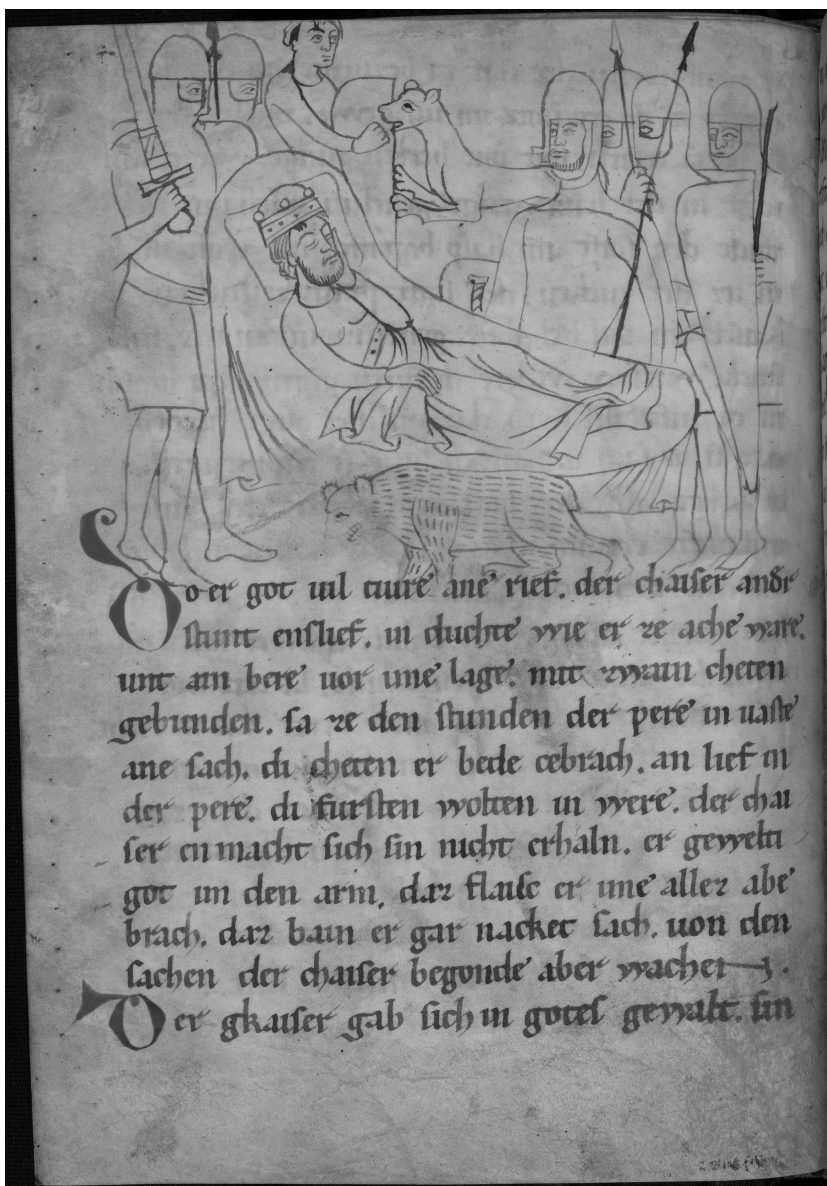


Figure 18.3 Pfaffe Konrad, *Rolandslied*. Written area: 274–80 × 115–25 mm.
 Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. Pal. germ. 112, f. 41v.

distinctive rhythmical patterns according to the kind of cadence employed, and a more sophisticated entwinement of the couplet, which in the earlier texts was the basic unit of meaning, with more complex syntactic structures. These refinements of German couplet verse achieved their most distinctively elegant regular form in the language of Gottfried von Strassburg's *Tristan*, and in the thirteenth century a number of older poems, such as the *Kaiserchronik*, *Herzog Ernst*, *König Rother* and Eilhart's *Tristrant*, were redacted in order to adapt the earlier assonance and less regular metrical forms to current taste.²⁴ These modifications of the metrical form may well have had implications for the layout of verse in the manuscripts, as is discussed later in this chapter. Of the narrative texts mentioned here, the *Alexanderlied*, Veldeke's *Eneas*, *König Rother*, Eilhart's *Tristrant*, *Reinhart Fuchs* and *Graf Rudolf* are all attested in manuscripts or (mostly) fragments datable to ca. 1200 or the beginning of the thirteenth century.

Finally, there is the emergence of a new type of author profile which must have given rise to different expectations on the part of the authors as to what they might expect from their scribes. Whereas the authors of texts that circulated in the tenth and eleventh centuries were monks (notably Notker the German of St. Gallen, Williram of Ebersberg and Otloh of St. Emmeram) and the early biblical epics from the later eleventh and early twelfth centuries and the mid-century *Kaiserchronik* remain anonymous, a number of poetical texts from the mid-century onwards are presented as the work of clerks ('clericus') or priests ('plebanus'), whose learning and evident knowledge of Latin (requiring access to manuscripts) can hardly have been acquired in the context of an aristocratic court and without access to monastic libraries. In some significant, but (as Bumke has suggested) most likely exceptional cases, they present themselves as learned knights ('miles', 'ministerialis' – 'ritter'/'rîter', 'dienstman').²⁵ The author of the *Rolandslied* (1170s) presents himself as a priest, 'der pfaffe Chunrat' (v. 9079), who translated the French text into Latin (implying he wrote out the complete narrative in a Latin manuscript), and then from Latin into German (vv. 9077–85). He claims to have used as his source a (French) manuscript written in 'Karlingen' provided by Duke Heinrich (Henry the Lion) at the behest of 'the noble duchess, daughter of a mighty king' (Matilda, daughter of King Henry II of England), thereby presenting himself as a clerk and man of learning in the entourage of the duke.²⁶ Similar authorial status, but in the plural, is implied in the A prologue of the German prose encyclopaedia, the *Lucidarius* (late twelfth/early thirteenth century), where it is stated that inspired by God, the duke ('herzoge

Heinrich', Henry the Lion) instructed his chaplains ('cappellane') at the court in Braunschweig to collect the necessary source materials from Latin manuscripts and to write them up in German prose.²⁷ When Herbort von Fritslar, in his epilogue to the *Liet von Troye*, calls himself a 'gelerter schulere' ('learned clerk', v. 18451), who composed his work at the behest of Landgrave Hermann of Thuringia, basing himself on a French manuscript exemplar provided by the Count of Leiningen (vv. 91–8), he is presenting himself as a literate cleric in the entourage of the landgrave at the Thuringian court.²⁸ Hartmann von Aue's often-quoted prologues to *Der arme Heinrich* and *Iwein* strike out in a different direction. In *Der arme Heinrich* Hartmann presents himself as a layman and learned knight ('Ein ritter sô gelêret was ...' – 'A knight was so learned ...', v. 1) and a 'ministerialis' of Aue ('dienstman was er zOuwe' – 'he was a ministerial at Aue'), who read widely in books in search of material that might grant him relief in times of trouble (the 'otium' topos) as well as serving God's glory, seeking prayers for intercession from his readers (vv. 1–28).²⁹ In *Iwein* he presents himself as Hartmann, of the family of Ouwe, a learned knight who wrote poetry as a leisure-time activity, composing works such as this Arthurian romance which he hopes his audience will enjoy listening to (vv. 21–30).³⁰ Gottfried von Strassburg refrains from presenting himself as a socially defined individual, except in an acrostic which entwines the names 'Gote(vrit)' and an unidentifiable 'Dieterich' (presumably a patron or dedicatee).³¹ When later poets call him 'master', as in Konrad von Würzburg's designation 'Von Strâzburc meister Gotfrit' in his preface to the *Herzmaere*, a title which Heinrich von Veldeke had also claimed for himself (*Eneas* v. 13465), this chimes with the self-presentation of the authorial voice as a 'poeta doctus' who claims to have searched for the right version of the Tristan story in 'books of both kinds, French and Latin' (vv. 168–9), until he found what he needed with the work of Thomas of Brittany. Furthermore, in his literary excursus (vv. 4555–5011), Gottfried presents himself as an authority who is in a position to evaluate the most sophisticated narrative poetry and song, and in doing so associates his own work with a corpus of modern book literature which is entirely in the German vernacular, certainly indebted in its rhetorical ambitions to Latin, but nonetheless a cultural entity in itself: for Gottfried, around 1210, German literature had emancipated itself. At about the same time Wolfram von Eschenbach, in his *Parzival*, asserts the position of the exception that proves the rule among the learned poets by styling himself as an illiterate knight and minstrel, a man whose 'office' is that of the shield, not the written word, and who narrates the story of Parzival to

a female audience: his work, he says, can proceed without writing, without book learning (II5, 2I–II6, 4).³²

A teleological reading of these twelfth-century developments might suggest a development from monastic to secular literature, the transition to a new autonomous literary aesthetic, and the extension of authorship and reading practices from the monastic sphere to the world of secular priests with noble patrons, leading in turn to a renaissance of lay literacy, including female literacy, that includes both literary composition and private reading of 'German literature'. This would be a gross simplification, and the contribution of codicological studies to providing the necessary nuances needs to be accorded greater weight. Moving forward from a cut-off date of 'ca. 1200' to 'ca. 1225', we are confronted with a number of German manuscripts which mark a major move forward, particularly with regard to the transmission of German verse. Throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries and up to about 1225, all of the numerous surviving manuscripts and fragments of German verse texts present the text written continuously rather than being set out in lines. This changes from the period 1225 to 1250 onwards, when, apart from strophic verse and some of the more conservative religious epics, the modern style of layout, according to which the verses are set out in lines on the page (or as couplets with the second verse indented) became the norm. This development represented a fundamental change in the attitude of scribes and readers to the book as a physical object, or to how the book was seen to function in its mediation between literary composition and reception (whether by private reading or oral delivery in the form of reading to an audience).³³ When the text was set out in lines, the page layout became a material, visual manifestation of the poetic form employed, and when such a codex was used for private reading, the visual presentation communicated something of what in other circumstances might have been communicated by performance. We do not know if any of the poets of the later twelfth or early thirteenth centuries themselves were involved in this radical change in the presentation of German verse, but we certainly cannot exclude the possibility. The question is of some significance because the new layout corresponded rather closely to the standard practice for the vernacular in France and Anglo-Norman England, and if (as we might surmise) the new presentation carried with it the resonances of French literary culture, the modern layout, which the poets will have known from their exemplars, would be in line with the emphasis they placed on the fact that the German compositions were based on French codices. Nonetheless, most of our earlier narrative texts have been preserved in one or more copies written in the

traditional German style, the only major exception being the *Tristan* of Gottfried von Strassburg. The material dependency on manuscript copies of the French poems is made explicit by some of the poets, notably in Pfaffe Konrad's *Rolandslied*, Veldeke's *Eneas* and Ulrich's *Lanzelet*. We should, however, guard against the obvious temptation to see the history of verse layout entirely in terms of dependency on French, and as I have argued elsewhere, using the German *Lanzelet* as an example, the surviving manuscripts of German courtly romance show only sporadic dependency in their page layout on French models.³⁴

A manuscript that represents what could be achieved as a result of the new developments in German literature is the Berlin copy of Heinrich von Veldeke's *Eneas*, executed ca. 1220–30.³⁵ The complete poem consists of 13,528 lines of couplet verse (now wanting 11,492–13,528 through loss of the last quire), presented here in a large-format manuscript containing just this one text, and combining the text of the German poem with an extensive picture cycle of exceptional quality, amounting to seventy-four leaves in all (ca. 250 mm × 170 mm, written area ca. 230 mm × 155 mm). The text is in three columns³⁶ and occupies thirty-five leaves (quaternions), and the cycle of 136 illustrations, executed as bifolia to be inserted into the text quires as interleaving, is arranged, with one exception, in pairs, one above the other on each page. The result is that, except at the middle of the quire, each text page faces a page with two images. The choice of the three-column layout no doubt served to compress the extent of the text and make possible the extraordinarily lavish programme of pictures. Apart from some preliminary experimentation on the opening pages, the text is set out in lines of verse, the first verse of each couplet beginning with a majuscule and drawn out into the margin, and each concluded with a rhyme point. This layout emphasises the integrity of the metrical couplet, as distinct from the single four-beat line, and came to be common from the middle of the thirteenth century onwards. As in all other copies of the poem, the text is divided into paragraphs by plain two-line red initials with no further decoration. The calligraphy is relatively modest, hardly in line with the quite exceptional ambitions of the illustrative programme. It is all the work of one scribe, which, given the extent of the poem, might speak against production in a workshop where the copying of German manuscripts was routine (notwithstanding the combination of work by craftsmen of two different trades). Whereas Veldeke's own language was the Low Franconian dialect of the Maasland, and his work was completed for the Thuringian court in the East Central German region, this manuscript, while displaying some Central German features taken over from an exemplar, is written in the

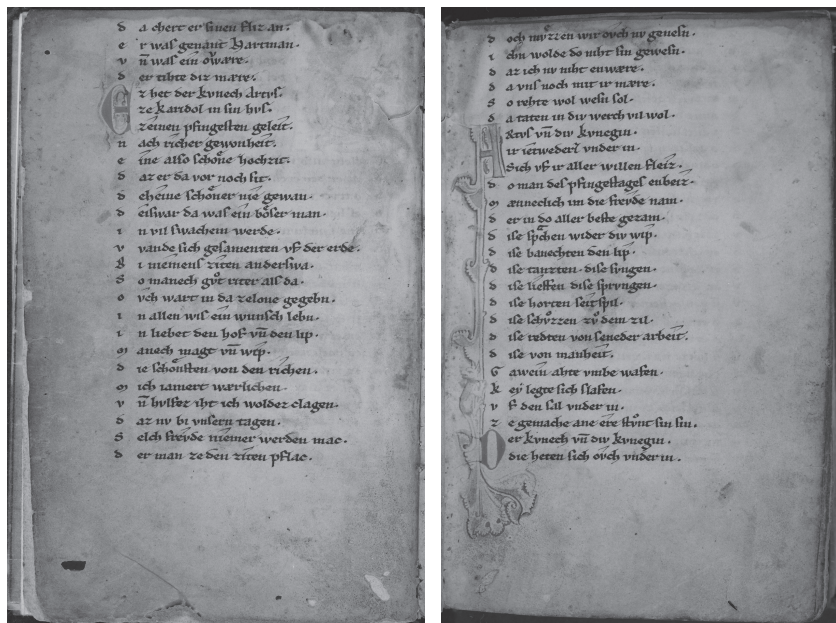


Figure 18.4 Hartmann von Aue, *Iwein*. Written area: 126 × ca. 84 mm. Gießen, Universitätsbibliothek, Hs. 89, ff. iv–2r.

Bavarian dialect.³⁷ The manuscript thus documents the way German literary texts were being transported and copied outside the region in which they had originally been composed. Veldeke's second German literary composition in couplet verse, the *Servatius*, was composed at the behest of Agnes, countess of Loon (vv. 6177–82), probably the wife of Count Lodewijk I (d. 1171). It has plausibly been suggested that the Wittelsbach connections to the Maasland and the Thuringian court might provide a context in which the copying of the *Eneas* for a noble and wealthy family in Bavaria might be situated.³⁸

A second manuscript codex which, like the Berlin *Eneas*, illustrates the new literary situation in the 1220s is the celebrated Gießen codex of Hartmann's *Iwein* (Figure 18.4), a volume of exceptionally small format (126 mm × ca. 84 mm, written area ca. 92 mm × 55 mm), in which an Arthurian romance of 8,166 lines of verse is presented as a single volume of 160 leaves copied in one column with twenty-six lines to the page.³⁹ The verses are set out in lines, each beginning with an offset minuscule (occasionally a majuscule) and concluded with a rhyme point, a common

layout which is also found in French manuscripts and which treats the line of verse rather than the couplet as the basic unit. The poem is introduced on f. 1r with an eight-line multicoloured initial and paragraphs are marked by minor three-line initials, alternating red and blue, with fine decoration, but only in exactly the first half of the manuscript, ff. 1r–79v (presumably so planned for reasons of economy). The script is a Northern Textualis, employing quite a number of abbreviations and with frequent accent marks, perhaps as an aid to performance. The language is Eastern Upper German (Eastern Swabian/Bavarian). There are no clues to suggest the status of the patron for whom the manuscript was made, other than the high quality of execution. The overall design of the book, containing just a single text, and its small format, smaller than a modern German 'Reclam' edition, suggests that it was intended for private reading. That this type of manuscript was thought appropriate for Arthurian romance in the early thirteenth century is evident from the Linz fragment of *Iwein*, which is only slightly larger than Gießen (164 mm × 97 mm, written area 112 mm × 60 mm) and has broader margins, but makes use of the same single-column layout with offset minuscules at the beginning of each line.⁴⁰ Other early *Iwein* manuscripts, such as the two-column fragments in Kremsmünster (most likely [225 mm × 150 mm], written area 175 × 120 mm) and the single-column fragment in Munich (BSB Cgm 191: 152 mm × 115 mm, written area 120 mm × 80 mm), although adhering to the older style in that the verses are written out continuously, provide further evidence for small-format manuscripts for the romance, probably containing just a single text.⁴¹ Such manuscripts demanded a different type of reading practice from the larger, heavier codices such as the Berlin *Eneas*.

If we now turn back to the twelfth century proper, we are faced with a very large body of manuscript production that can only with difficulty be coordinated with the innovations in German literary culture that are evident from the content, literary form and social history of the texts. Several factors need to be borne in mind in sifting the evidence. First, as we have noted repeatedly, the vernacular material is mostly presented in a Latin context.⁴² Secondly, most of the evidence consists of fragments. Thirdly, whereas the innovations that can be plotted against a social history of German literary production tend to be associated with the secular clergy at princely courts, the provenance of the surviving manuscripts is almost entirely monastic. The monasteries were the real home of the foundational literary culture of the period, and it is in their libraries that manuscripts survived, whether as codices or as scrap parchment used in later bookbindings. And finally we should bear in

mind that although German vernacular manuscripts can be assigned a fairly accurate regional provenance on the basis of their language, palaeographical datings have to be treated with considerable caution, wherever possible allowing leeway of plus or minus fifteen to twenty years.⁴³

In all, perhaps fewer than twenty 'German' or bilingual Latin and German codices have survived intact from the twelfth century, the rest of the manuscripts from this period being interpolations in a Latin context or fragments. The following list aims to be complete.⁴⁴

- Vienna Notker (Psalms 1–50, 101–50) and Old High German sermons (fragments), ca. 1100 ('late eleventh/early twelfth century');
- Leiden Williram, from Egmond (North Holland), ca. 1100;
- Trier Williram, from St. Matthias, Trier, eleventh/twelfth century;
- Kremsmünster Williram, first half twelfth century;
- London British Library Williram, first half twelfth century;
- Stuttgart Williram, first half twelfth century;
- Vienna Williram, possibly from Ebersberg, second quarter twelfth century;
- Einsiedeln Williram, second quarter twelfth century;
- St. Gallen manuscript of Notker's *Boethius*, from Einsiedeln, second quarter twelfth century;
- Munich Williram, BSB Cgm 77, from Indersdorf, second half twelfth century;
- Prayerbook of Muri, northern Switzerland, early in the last quarter, perhaps ca. 1175;
- Windberg Psalter with interlinear translation, BSB Cgm 17, last quarter twelfth century (1174?);
- Berlin Williram, from Lambach, ca. 1180;
- The Vorau Manuscript (an extensive collection, including the *Kaiserchronik*), last quarter twelfth century;
- *Vienna Genesis* and *Exodus*, ÖNB 2721, last quarter twelfth century;
- *Speculum ecclesiae* sermon collection, late twelfth century;
- Zurich, Zentralbibl. cod. C 58 (Latin-German 'Sammelhandschrift'), late twelfth century/ca. 1200;
- Millstatt Manuscript (with *Genesis*, *Physiologus* and *Exodus*), ca. 1200;
- Heidelberg *Rolandslied*, ca. 1200;
- Interlinear version of the Psalter in Trier, ca. 1200;
- 'Sammelband' with the *Strassburger Alexander* (destroyed 1870), early thirteenth century;

- *König Rother* in Heidelberg, early thirteenth century;
- Millstatt Psalter and Hymns from Admont (interlinear versions), early thirteenth century;
- Priestern Wernher's *Maria* in Cracow (formerly in Berlin), early thirteenth century.

This list needs to be augmented, if we are to aim at an accurate picture of the state of German vernacular manuscript production in the twelfth century, by some of the early fragments, such as those of three different manuscripts of the *Mittelfränkische Reimbibel* (Central Franconian Rhymed Bible), two of which could be from the first half of the century, the fragments in Freiburg i. Br. and Klagenfurt of the *Kaiserchronik* (the first verse chronicle of the world in a Western European vernacular, composed ca. 1150) from the third quarter of the century, and fragments of what must have been two extensive collections of verse in Colmar (with *Crescentia*, *Schoph von dem lone* and the *Cantilena de conversione Sancti Pauli*, datable to the late twelfth century) and Trier (with the verse legends of Saints Giles and Silvester, and the love romance of *Floyris und Blanscheflor*, ca. 1200/beginning of the thirteenth century).⁴⁵ The latter manuscript, combining religious and secular verse narrative, is exceptional in that it seems to point outside the monastic sphere. Finally, special mention should be made of several examples of religious poetry, two of them texts intended to be sung, that were added on blank pages of Latin manuscripts, most notably the Strasbourg copies of the *Ezzolied* (*Song of Ezzo*) and *Memento mori* added to a manuscript of Gregory's *Moralia in Job* (first half of the twelfth century), the poem *Vom himelriche* added to a copy of the *Moralia in Job* from Oberaltaich (datable 1174), the *Arnsteiner Marienlied* (a hymn to the Virgin) added to a psalter from the Premonstratensian abbey of Arnstein on the Lahn (last third of the twelfth century) and the Oxford manuscript of the *Mariensequenz aus Muri*, with neumes (ca. 1200) and based on the Latin sequence *Ave praeclara maris stella*, copied at the end of the calendar preceding a manuscript of the Hirsau *Liber ordinarius* and a collection of miracles of the Virgin made for the abbey of Moggio in Friuli.⁴⁶ It is in such manuscripts that the dominant twelfth-century phenomenon of a bilingual literary culture becomes most immediately visible, although, as Christine Putzo elaborated in a recent study, it in fact underlies all written texts in the vernacular from the German lands for the greater part of the Middle Ages: they constitute what Hugo Kuhn in 1967 christened a 'volksschriftsprachliche Zwischenkultur'.⁴⁷

Notes

1. Hellgardt 1988. Karin Schneider's foundational monograph, dealing with Gothic script from ca. 1175 onwards, appeared a year earlier. Jürgen Wolf's *Buch und Text*, which treats our subject from a different perspective, came twenty years later.
2. Palmer 2005a.
3. Available online from the 'Marburger Repertorien' (www.handschriftencensus.de); last accessed 25 November 2015.
4. Available online from the 'Marburger Repertorien' (www.paderborner-repertorium.de); last accessed 25 November 2015.
5. For Latin-German text ensembles in this period, see Hellgardt 1992.
6. Bertelsmeier-Kierst 2000, 2003a.
7. For an important and forward-looking discussion of the relationship between the scriptographic medium (manuscripts) and twelfth-century literature understood in 'anthropological' terms, see Müller 2005.
8. First attested in the Vorau Manuscript (last quarter of the twelfth century); see n. 44.
9. For the position of these two poems in the broader codicological context of epic and romance, see Bumke 1996.
10. Gottfried von Strassburg: *Tristan und Isolde*. For a codicological study, see Wetzel 1992.
11. Wolfram von Eschenbach: *Parzival, Willehalm*. Cf. Heinze 2011, esp. 1. 308–65 (Schirok), 1. 591–652 (Gerhardt) and the list of manuscripts by Klein (2. 941–1002).
12. See the essays in the collected writings of Heinze 2008; for contributions in English, see Beach, *Manuscripts and Monastic Culture*.
13. *Das St. Trudperter Hohelied; Die Millstätter Predigten*, ed. Schiewer, with a discussion of the German texts and manuscripts associated with Admont at xxii–xxviii.
14. See Palmer 2017.
15. *Das Rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad*. Cf. Bumke, *Mäzene*, 85–91; Bumke 1986, 2. 638–77 (English transl. Bumke 1991, 458–88); Kartschoke 1989.
16. Heinrich van Veldeken: *Sente Servas*. Cf. Goossens 1991; Scheepsmas 2013, 310–5.
17. Heinrich von Veldeke: *Eneasroman*. For the circumstances of composition of Veldeke's work, see Bumke, *Mäzene*, 113–8; Bumke 1986, 2. 681–2 (English transl. Bumke 1991, 491–2).
18. Heinrich der Glîchezære [sic]: *Reinhart Fuchs*. Cf. Bumke, *Mäzene*, 100–5.
19. *König Rother*. Cf. Bumke, *Mäzene*, 91–6.
20. Ulrich von Zatzikhoven: *Lanzelet*. Cf. Bumke, *Mäzene*, 153–4; McLelland 2000, 3–27.
21. Schneider 1987, 1. 79–81. Online from Heidelberg University Library.

22. For this, and all the other adaptations from French, see the *Verfasserlexikon*; Bumke, *Mäzene*; and the list of 'Twelfth-century secular narrative' texts in Palmer 2005, 43–5.
23. For the (much later) transmission of the Middle High German lyric, see Holznagel 1995.
24. For modernisation in the manuscripts of *König Rother*, see Palmer 2011.
25. Bumke, *Mäzene*, 68–72, suggesting that the non-clerical authors were very much exceptions to the rule (71).
26. Kartschoke 1989.
27. *Lucidarius*, 102*–3*. For the controversy about the status of the prologues, dating and patronage, see Steer 1990; Bumke 1995; Bertelsmeier-Kierst 2003.
28. Herbort von Fritslar, *Liet von Troye*.
29. Hartmann von Aue, *Der arme Heinrich*.
30. Hartmann von Aue, *Iwein*.
31. Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan und Isold*, vv. 1–40. For author and patron, see the editors' comments, 2. 207–11.
32. Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival*.
33. Schneider 1987, 1. 91–2 and 99–100; Palmer 1993, 2005a, 86–91; Putzo 2009, 317–8 (with a comparison of the layout of verse in French and German manuscripts in this period); Palmer 2010, 66–9.
34. Palmer 2010.
35. Facsimile ed. Fingernagel and Henkel 1992. Cf. Schneider 1987, 1. 96–9; Wolf 2008, 91, 129.
36. For Middle High German manuscripts in three columns, see Klein 2000.
37. Klein 1988, 136–9. Klein's article contains an important discussion of the topography of manuscript distribution observable for German poetic texts in the High Middle Ages.
38. Bumke *Mäzene*, 116–8, who also considers the possibility that this was Agnes, the wife of Count Otto V of Scheyern, from whom the counts of Wittelsbach were descended and whose daughter Sophie was married to Landgrave Hermann I of Thuringia. See note 17.
39. Facsimile ed. Heinrichs 1964. Cf. Schneider 1987, 1. 147–9; Klein 1988, 148–50 (with an analysis of the language); Palmer 1993, 16; Wolf 2008, 128, 301–2.
40. For the Linz fragment, see Okken 1974, 17–8.
41. For the *Iwein* fragments in Munich and Kremsmünster, see Petzet and Glauning, part 3, 1912, pl. 31B, and Wiesinger 1978, plate after 194; Wiesinger 1984.
42. For different types of bilingual collective manuscript, see Hellgardt 1992, 29–31; Wolf, 56–65 (with illustrations), who distinguishes four different types, suggesting that, as in France and England, during the eleventh and the first half of the twelfth centuries some 90 per cent of all manuscripts with vernacular texts were bilingual, in the second half of the twelfth century 75 per cent.
43. Palmer 2005a, 92.

44. For all these texts, see the *Verfasserlexikon* and in many cases the detailed discussion in Schneider 1987. Furthermore, for the Vienna Notker, see Hellgardt 2014. For the Williram manuscripts, see Gärtner 1988. For the Vorau Manuscript, a classic bilingual text ensemble presenting a collection of more than twenty extensive German poems and Otto of Freising's *Gesta imperii* side by side, in a large format (450 mm × 325 mm, written area 340 mm × 230–5 mm), see Schneider 1987, I, 37–41; Grubmüller 2000; Grote 2012. For the *Vienna Genesis*, see Gutfleisch-Ziche 1997.
45. Such large collections of German verse texts are well documented for the later twelfth century, although mostly by fragments; see Grote 2012.
46. Heinzer 2008, 104–5.
47. Kuhn 1968, 5; Putzo 2011, 5.

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